

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF EMINENT INDIANS

Edited by

M. M. BHATTACHERJE, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

*Sir Gooroodass Banerjee Professor and
Head of the Department of English,
University of Calcutta*

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, MADRAS,
1952

**MADE AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY B. PAGE,
AT THE I. S. S. D. PRESS, 95 B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA.**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The compiler wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the following who have kindly given permission for the use of the copyright material contained in this volume :

Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras, for "The Voice of Life," from *Sir J. C. Bose—His Life and Writings*; Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, for "Economic *versus* Moral Progress", by Mahatma Gandhi, from *Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi*, for "Mahadev Govinda Ranade", from *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, and for "Books that have influenced me" by Sir C. V. Raman from *Books that have influenced me—a Symposium*; Messrs. Hind Kitabs, Bombay, for "Gautama the Buddha", from *Gautama the Buddha* by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, and "Nationality and State", from *India Divided* by Dr. Rajendra Prasad; Messrs. Signet Press for "The Quest" from *Discovery of India* by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru; Advaita Ashram for "The Secret of Work", from *Selections from Swami Vivekananda*; Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, and Sri C. Rajagopalachari for "Education for New India", from *Rajaji's Speeches*; Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, for "The Awakening Soul of India", from *The Ideal of the Karmayogin* by Sri Aurobindo; Messrs. Oxford University Press and the Navajivan Trust for "First Experiences in England", from *My Early Life* by Mahatma Gandhi; Trustees of Rabindranath Tagore for "Nationalism in the West", from *Nationalism* by Tagore and "Individual and Universe", from *Sadhana* by Tagore; Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., for "National Ideals", from *The Problem of National Education in India*, by Lala Lajpat Rai; Sri Radhakrishna Sinha for "Practicalism and Idealism", from *Speeches and Writings* by Sachchidananda Sinha; The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar for "A Convocation Address"; Sri T. N. Jagadisan, Madras, for "Education for Citizenship", from *The Other Harmony* by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

INTRODUCTION

English education, which was introduced into India in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, established her cultural contact with the West. Prior to this, India had for centuries remained in a state of isolation, although in very early times she had sent out cultural missions to other Asiatic countries. India really began to borrow from the West and assimilate new ideas on an extensive scale only after the British had taken up the direction of her educational policy. At this time a section of public opinion, represented by the Orientalists, opposed the introduction of foreign culture as being unnecessary and undesirable. There were, however, others—sometimes called the Anglicists—who discerned the value of Western thought and natural science and were convinced that the age-long torpor of the country could not be dispelled and its regeneration could not be effected without their influence. In their opinion political independence was not to be thought of until there had been a cultural and spiritual renaissance in India. The wide acceptance of their view was responsible for Macaulay's Minute and Wood's Despatch which forged the link between India and European culture.

It is true that Western education at first exerted an unsettling influence on young minds and led to errors in life and conduct to an extent which alarmed the older generation and produced a reaction in the form of strong conservative opposition. The outer surface of Indian life and thought misled those disciples of the new education who had not the patience to delve deep and who were not qualified to appreciate inner worth. They hated everything Indian, aped Western manners and modes of life, and forgot their glorious

past. There were scholars who ignored modern Indian languages, avoided classical Indian literature, and made a fetish of speaking and writing English.

But, in course of time, educated Indians learnt to shun the evils of the new type of education and to assimilate the best that it could offer. Genuine appreciation of the true virtues of the West replaced pointless imitation of the superficial features of foreign life and manners, and the orthodox section gradually gave up its hostility. The effect was rapid and exceeded all expectations. With the progress of English education people's vision widened and their sympathies broadened. They learnt to compare and to contrast, and to subject their own social, political and cultural life to a strict scrutiny. This generated a desire to reform Indian life and thought and to lift them up to a higher level. There was a movement for the revaluation of old standards and also for the creation of new standards.

The impact of Western culture thus produced a new type of men, completely different from anything known in pre-British India. An educated middle class—discriminating, mentally alert and daring,—was ushered into existence, consisting of thinkers, scholars, politicians, scientists, literary men and reformers. They were no blind worshippers of old systems and ways of thinking, but were ready to strike out new lines. There had certainly been no dearth of learned men in Medieval India, but they had grown up under the domination of religious dogma and rigid social conventions which they could never shake off. Scholarly *Pundits* or *Maulavis*, they were proverbially poor, with no high status and with only limited influence. Few cared to listen to them except on subtle religious questions. Their knowledge and experience being parochial, they could never see contemporary life and thought in their proper perspective and assess them at their real worth. They followed

tradition and had no idea of progress such as had been accomplished in the West with the help of modern science and historical methods of enquiry. Dogmatism was natural to them, not criticism. On the other hand, those who were products of the Western system of education in British India came to fill important positions under Government and in public life, and had leisure for further intellectual pursuits. Not a few travelled abroad and gathered varied experience which they were eager to utilise for their country's good.

They ventilated their views freely, uninfluenced by tradition or dogma, and tried to educate public opinion. Their work was made easier by their ability to use English as medium of expression. Political unity and the uniform administrative system in British India had had the consequence of making English the *lingua franca* of this country. Writers in English could transcend provincial boundaries and appeal to educated people in all parts of India. This was an advantage which was not available in pre-British days when no one Indian language, classical or vernacular, was understood all over the country by its heterogeneous population.

The success that has been achieved in re-casting Indian life and thought, has thus been due to the English language as much as to the new type of culture from the West. It is significant that Indian speakers and writers have won world-wide admiration for their mastery of English and for their facility in using a foreign language, even in the most advanced forms of literature, as if it was their mother-tongue.

In view of the changes proposed in the position of English in the educational system of India, it is essential to have a clear idea of its services to this country. Apart from its contribution, as a medium of higher education and as the language of administration throughout India, to the growth of cultural unity and national consciousness, it has

enabled Indians to appreciate a great world literature. This has, in the past, had a most stimulating effect upon literary creation in almost every regional language in India. Its influence is traceable, for instance, in the poetry of Madhusudan Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, and others in Bengal, in the evolution of modern Bengali prose from its crude beginnings in the Mahomedan period and in the growth of Bengali fiction and drama. English has also been the medium through which the literatures, scientific thought, and philosophical speculations of continental Europe and of America have reached Indian intellectuals. Ignorance of English must therefore entail, for a long time to come, the risk of being unfamiliar with the latest thought-currents of the world, and of intellectual isolation.

Patriotism may quite rightly inspire loyalty to Indian ideals in morals, social life and spiritual outlook in preference to those of the West, but it need not urge the immediate banishment of English from our education. Dr. Sinha has summed up the case for English very lucidly, and has pointed out how much of the opposition to it is due to mere political prejudice against the British. "It is spoken by more people to-day outside Britain than inside that country, and has thus acquired the status of an international language. But that is not all. It enshrines, besides a rich imaginative literature, work-a-day knowledge of all subjects.....English is thus no longer the monopoly of Englishmen, or of Britons, but a great heritage to all who may care to study it..... Hence the movement to discard or to discourage English is a retrograde step from the nationalist point of view." Lala Lajpat Rai goes a step further, and urges the need of the study of more than one modern European language even to the neglect of Sanskrit. The needs of commerce and science, in his opinion, demand India's close contact with the

advanced nations of Europe, and this is impossible without a knowledge of their languages. He says, "If India of the future is to live a full, healthy and vigorous life commensurate with the importance which belongs to it by virtue of its human and other resources, it must come into closer touch with the rest of the world... Intercourse with other nations for purposes of trade and commerce is no longer optional. It is compulsory. If India's trade and commerce are to be carried on by Indians and not by foreigners, and if the Indian people are to profit therefrom, it is necessary that our traders and commercial men should know as many modern languages as it is possible for them to learn, first at school and then out of it."

The writers selected for the present volume represent different phases of the Renaissance in Modern India—social and humanitarian work, political movement, moral and philosophical enquiry, legal scholarship, scientific research, cultural and spiritual pursuits. Their ancestry, upbringing, education and experience of life have been as varied as their contributions to this resurgence. Some, like Gokhale, Sastri, Radhakrishnan, Nehru, Tagore, and Rajagopalachari belong to the highest, i.e., the priestly caste. Mahatma Gandhi came from the trading class. The others stand midway in the social hierarchy. Rabindranath Tagore was a scion of an aristocratic family, and Nehru is of very well-to-do origin. Several came of middle-class families, while Sastri and Gokhale were born of poor parents. Sri Aurobindo and Nehru had a thorough English education from early childhood, which, but for their subsequent contact with Indian culture, might possibly have tended to denationalise them. Rabindranath was brought up in Calcutta in an atmosphere where there was a happy combination of the influences of the East and the West.

He subsequently visited Europe and America and gained first-hand experience of Western life and civilization. With these differences, they all exhibit the common features of having lived strenuous lives and deservedly risen to high distinction, widespread popularity, and often international fame.

Many of them have been lawyers familiar with modern juridical notions and constitutional developments. They have, with a few exceptions, also been political leaders and have suffered and made sacrifices for their country. Mahatma Gandhi, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Pandit Nehru belong to this category. The Mahatma was always an apostle of moral culture, and Pandit Nehru has sought to combine skill and learning in international relations with a fine idealism. Sir J. C. Bose and Sir C. V. Raman, indeed, confined their activities to the laboratory, but their work has kept the world mindful of India as the home of a pre-eminently intellectual and gifted people. Dr. Jayakar, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Sinha have been distinguished as educational administrators, while as a scholar, Dr. Radhakrishnan has also conveyed the message of Indian philosophy to the West and, as a jurist, Dr. Jayakar has been highly appreciated in England. The careers of Gokhale and Sastri show a remarkable similarity—both started as teachers and ended as public men of repute, bearing a heavy burden of responsibility for state affairs. One was a close student of finance, and the other of civics. Both dedicated their lives to public service. Though principally a political worker, Lala Lajpat made large donations for educational purposes, and also showed a tremendous zeal for reform in society and religion. Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo differ in spite of their apparent resemblances. The former became a monk and renounced the

world early in life, but was later¹ responsible for establishing a great organization for social work for the relief of the lowly and the destitute. On the other hand, Sri Aurobindo, a fine product of a great English University, with profound classical culture, began his career as an ardent nationalist and political worker, but suddenly retired to the seclusion of a French settlement on the coast and completely gave up his mundane activities. Rabindranath Tagore, the great creative genius and poet, interpreted the outward beauty and inner spirit of Bengal in his stories and poems, and became an acknowledged exponent of humanism and the eternal verities in Europe and America.

The messages contained in the extracts reproduced in this volume may thus be briefly summarized: Lajpat Rai and Jayakar lay stress on educational reform, but the former wants to rid Indian education of the cramping influence of the old indigenous system and to modernise it. Sastri emphasises the cultivation of civic sense and the dignity of scholarship. Gokhale appreciates the value of political and social work which made Ranade so great. The development of a high moral sense and the levelling-down of class distinctions are insisted on by Mahatma Gandhi. The life and spiritual teachings of the great Gautama are discussed by Radhakrishnan, while the importance of science is stressed by Sir J. C. Bose and Sir C. V. Raman. Rabindranath deals brilliantly with the fundamental difference between the Eastern and the Western outlook, Sri Aurobindo urges the necessity of avoiding foreign influence and basing India's spiritual advancement on her own soul force and characteristic culture, while Vivekananda elaborates some of the teachings of the *Geeta*.

Learning in pre-British India was mostly theological and tended to intensify religious devotion and to develop only one aspect of human personality. In contrast, Western learn-

ing has been nourished by manifold intellectual pursuits—study of the natural and the social sciences, comparative religion, comparative literature, etc. At its best, therefore, it has the effect of developing harmoniously most of the faculties of the human mind. Again, while the older Indian learning had been confined to a few who belonged to the upper classes of society, the diffusion of literacy and education, at various levels, proceeded quite rapidly in the West, in spite of many obstacles, and the influence of Western culture has therefore been much wider. While the one remained sectarian and restricted, the other has become almost universal and thus more fully humanized.

Western culture has not always had blind and uncritical admirers in India. Those who had imbibed it most freely have in many cases been its sternest critics and have most emphatically opposed its dissemination in this country. For instance, while Lajpat Rai wants to do away with the ancient educational system of India and the traditional bond between teacher and pupil, Vivekananda gives himself up fully and freely to the guidance of his Master and becomes the exponent of his spiritual teaching; yet the Swami was well-grounded in Western philosophy and had travelled extensively in Europe and America. Although steeped in Western thought and culture, Rabindranath established a school on the model of the *Asram* of ancient India, where the ideal of personal contact of the pupil with the teacher could be realised. Dr. Sinha, on the other hand, attaches vast importance to Universities on the Western model and is afraid of a setback to culture if they are not given “greater moral support”. Sri C. Rajagopalachari also sets a high value on University education, which in his opinion, is “a training for leadership”. Universities, he thinks, are concerned with “contributions to world civilization”. Nehru, however, points out the continuity

of Indian culture since the Indus Valley civilization and traces it in the fervent faith and traditional qualities of the Indian villager. He asks himself how it can be preserved and rendered even more fruitful. Referring to his first contact with the Indian village, he says: "...for me it was a real voyage of discovery, and while I was painfully conscious of the failings and weaknesses of my people, I found in India's country-folk something difficult to define, which attracted me. . . . It struck me that perhaps the reason for this, and for a certain stability and potential strength that they possessed, was the old Indian cultural tradition which was still retained by them in a small measure." The nineteenth century in India, thinks Sri Aurobindo, was imitative, self-forgetful and artificial because it followed foreign ideals and systems of education. This was an evil which had to be combated, and he tells us: "...it was when the flower of the educated youth of Calcutta bowed down at the feet of an illiterate Hindu ascetic, a self-illuminated ecstatic and 'mystic' without a single trace or touch of the alien thought or education upon him, that the battle was won. The going forth of Vivekananda, marked out by the Master as the heroic soul destined to take the world between his two hands and change it, was the first visible sign to the world that India was awake not only to survive but also to conquer." Again, "It is God's will that we should be ourselves and not Europe. We have sought to regain life by following the law of another being than our own. We must return and seek the sources of life and strength within ourselves. . . . Recover the patrimony of your forefathers. Recover the Aryan thought, the Aryan discipline, the Aryan character, . . . the *Vedanta*, the *Geeta*, the *Yoga*." This plea for the revival of Aryan discipline and life is also a repudiation of the value of the fusion of Muslim and Hindu cultures in Medieval India, of which, however, Dr. Rajendra

Prasad says: "The culture which was evolved was neither purely Muslim nor exclusively Hindu, but a happy union of both." He argues that this joint cultural movement inspired the synthesis of religious ideals by Kabir and Nanak.

(In the political sphere Sastri puts his faith in the franchise and the ballot-box, and he wishes to promote civic sense as conceived in the West.) Nehru, though a lover of the traditional culture of Indian villagers, says, "we believe passionately in the democratic method, and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy". Even Mahatma Gandhi wants a constitution on the European model for India, for by Swaraj he means the "government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population . . . who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State and who have taken the trouble of having registered their names as voters." But says Sri Aurobindo, "We do not believe that our political salvation can be attained by enlargement of Councils, introduction of the elective principle, colonial self-government or any other formula of European politics . . . They might be sufficient if it were our ultimate destiny to be a dependent adjunct of European civilization . . . We believe, on the other hand, that India is destined to work out her own independent life and civilization, to stand in the forefront of the world and solve the political, social, economic and moral problems which Europe has failed to solve." Again, "India aspired to political emancipation, social renovation, religious vision and rebirth, but it failed because it adopted Western motives and methods."

Gokhale said of Ranade, "His one aspiration through life was that India should be aroused from the lethargy of centuries, so that she might become a great and living nationundertaking great national tasks." The statement may be applied equally to Gokhale himself, the

worthy disciple of Ranade. His life was devoted to the building-up of India as a nation, and his dream was that India should be able to hold, in her own right and by her own efforts, a prominent position, political and economic, among the great nations of the world. For his part, Rabindranath Tagore had no illusions about the cult of nationalism prevailing in the West. "A nation, in the sense of the political and economic union of a people, is that aspect which a whole population assumes, when organised for a mechanical purpose....When this organisation of politics and commerce, whose other name is the Nation, becomes all-powerful at the cost of the harmony of the higher social life, then it is an evil day for humanity." He points out that "when it allows itself to be turned into a perfect organisation of power, then there are few crimes which it is unable to perpetrate. Because success is the object and justification of a machine, while goodness only is the end and purpose of man. When this engine of organisation begins to attain a vast size, and those who are mechanics are made into parts of the machine, then the personal man is eliminated to a phantom, everything becomes a revolution of policy carried out by the human parts of the machine, with no twinge of pity or moral responsibility."

Economic prosperity is certainly desirable, especially in an India oppressed by poverty and want, and Lajpat Rai is not wrong when he says, "Everyone is trying to explain his dogma or creed in such a way as to make the pursuit of happiness in this world through the acquisition of health, wealth and knowledge, a desirable end. The natural bent of the human mind is also in the same direction. But....a life of renunciation and poverty is still the ostensible goal of every religion....What is worse, educated men who are neither priests nor monks, and who, in most

cases, do not themselves lead a life of asceticism, are holding up that ideal for their younger countrymen.” He protests vehemently against this and admits that his protests are inspired by the teachings of the West. But Swami Vivekananda, who personifies renunciation, though he was deeply versed in foreign culture, preaches that the miseries of the world cannot be cured by physical help only. “Until man’s nature changes, his physical needs will always arise.... The only solution of the problem is to make mankind pure.” Though Mahatma Gandhi’s India is to be economically free and self-sufficient—a state where the poor will not starve or live on only one meal a day—the Mahatma is firmly of opinion that economic progress clashes with moral progress. “Possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth.... In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of my countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches the greater was their moral turpitude”. “Let us,” he earnestly pleads, “seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us.”)

In the domain of scientific culture there has also been difference of opinion due to difference in outlook. The dogmatic views of Western science have not been accepted by all, and the characteristic Indian mentality finds expression at times. Sir C. V. Raman is a distinguished savant well-versed in numerous departments of knowledge—e.g., economic theory, physiography, public finance, mathematics and natural science. He points out the contributions of the pioneers of the different sciences, like Euclid, Archimedes, Newton and Helmholtz, and explains the importance of Geometry. Sir J. C. Bose, on the other hand, tries to cross the boundary between physics and

biology, between the living and the non-living, and warns us against the danger of losing sight of the fundamental fact that there can be but one truth—one Science—which includes all the branches of knowledge. In his own words, “How chaotic appear the happenings in Nature! Is Nature a Cosmos in which the human mind is some day to realise the uniform march of sequence, order and law? India through her habit of mind is peculiarly fitted to realise the idea of unity, and to see in the phenomenal world an orderly universe.”

This feeling of the unity of life is emphasised by Tagore in his thoughts on the sylvan settlements of the Aryans in ancient India. The West often takes pride in subduing the forces of Nature, and the forest is regarded by it as a hostile world which has to be conquered and constrained to minister to man's wants. In the West, he asserts, the prevalent feeling is that “nature belongs exclusively to inanimate things and to beasts, that there is a sudden unaccountable break where human-nature begins.” But in India the point of view was different. “The Indian mind never has any hesitation in acknowledging its kinship with nature, its unbroken relation with all.” The Aryan forest-dwellers believed that there was no such thing as absolute isolation in existence, and that the only way of attaining to truth was through interpenetration of our being into all objects. To realise this great harmony between man's spirit and the spirit of the world was the endeavour of the forest-dwelling sages of ancient India. Thus the fundamental unity of creation was not merely a philosophical speculation in India. “It was her life-object to realise this great harmony in feeling and in action.... The earth, water and light, fruits and flowers, to her were not merely physical phenomena to be turned to use and then left aside. They were necessary to her in the attainment of her ideal of perfection.”

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	vii
1. The Voice of Life .. <i>Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose</i> ..	1
2. Individual and Universe <i>Rabindranath Tagore</i> ..	13 ⁵⁶
3. Nationalism in the West <i>Rabindranath Tagore</i> ..	24
4. The Secret of Work .. <i>Swami Vivekananda</i> ..	35
5. National Ideals .. <i>Lala Lajpat Rai</i> ..	44
6. Mahadev Govinda Ranade <i>Gopal Krishna Gokhale</i> ..	57
7. Education for Citizenship <i>V. S. Srinivasa Sastri</i> ..	67 ⁵⁶
8. Economic <i>versus</i> Moral Progress <i>Mahatma Gandhi</i> ..	77 ⁵⁶
9. First Experiences in England <i>Mahatma Gandhi</i> ..	84
10. Practicalism and Idealism <i>Sachchidananda Sinha</i> ..	98
11. The Awakening Soul of India <i>Sri Aurobindo</i> ..	110 ⁵⁶
12. A Convocation Address <i>The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar</i> ..	123
13. Education for New India <i>Sri C. Rajagopalachari</i> ..	137
14. Nationality and State .. <i>Dr. Rajendra Prasad</i> ..	148
15. Gautama the Buddha .. <i>Dr. S. Radhakrishnan</i> ..	156
16. Books that have influenced me <i>Sir Chandrasekhara V. Raman</i> ..	166
17. The Success of Non-Violence <i>Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru</i> ..	171
18. The Quest .. <i>Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru</i> ..	180
NOTES	195

THE VOICE OF LIFE*

BY SIR JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE

I dedicate to-day this Institute—which is not a Laboratory but a Temple. Physical methods are applicable for the establishment of truth which can be realised directly through our senses, or through the vast expansion of the perceptive range by means of artificially created organs. We still gather the tremulous message when the audible note becomes inaudible. Even when human sight fails, we continue to explore the region of the invisible. The little that we can see is as nothing compared to the vastness of that which we cannot. Out of the very imperfection of his senses man has built himself a raft of thought on which he makes daring adventures on the great seas of the Unknown. But there are other truths which will remain beyond the reach of even the super-sensitive instruments known to science. For these we require faith, tested not in a few years but during an entire life. And a temple is now erected as a memorial to the establishment of that truth for which faith was needed. The personal, yet general, truth and faith this Institute commemorates, is this : that when one dedicates oneself wholly to a great object, the closed doors shall open, and the seemingly impossible will become possible.

Thirty-two years ago I chose the teaching of science as my vocation. It was then held that by its very peculiar

**Inaugural Address delivered by Sir J. C. Bose on the 30th November, 1917 when he dedicated the Bose Institute to the Nation.*

constitution, the Indian mind would always turn away from the study of Nature to metaphysical speculations. Even had the capacity for accurate observation and investigation been assumed present, there were no opportunities for its development ; there were no well-equipped laboratories or skilled mechanics. It is not for man to quarrel with circumstances but bravely to accept them ; and we belong to a race that has accomplished great things with simple means.

This day twenty-three years ago, I resolved that as far as the whole-hearted devotion and faith of one man counted, that would not be wanting, and within six months it came about that some of the most difficult problems concerning Electric Waves found their solution in my laboratory.

In the pursuit of my investigations I was unconsciously led into the border region of physics and physiology, and was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerging between the realms of the Living and the non-Living. Inorganic matter was found anything but inert ; it thrilled under the action of multitudinous forces that played on it. A universal reaction seemed to bring together metal, plant and animal under a common law. They all exhibited essentially the same phenomena of fatigue and depression, together with possibilities of recovery and of exaltation, and also of permanent irresponsiveness which is associated with death. I was filled with awe at this remarkable similarity ; and it was with great hope that I announced the results of my investigation before the Royal Society—results demonstrated by experiments. But the physiologists present advised me, after my address, to confine myself to physical investigations in which my success had been assured, rather than encroach on their preserve. I had unwittingly strayed into forbidden

land and thus offended against the etiquette of a new and unfamiliar caste system. An unconscious theological bias was also present which confounds ignorance with faith. It was forgotten that He who surrounded us with this ever-evolving mystery of creation, the ineffable wonder that lies hidden in the microcosm of the dust particle, enclosing within the intricacies of its atomic form all the mystery of the cosmos, also implanted in us the desire to question and understand. To the theological bias were added the misgivings about the inherent bent of the Indian mind towards mysticism and unchecked imagination. But in India this burning imagination which can extort new order out of a mass of apparently contradictory facts, is held in check by the habit of meditation. It is this that confers on the mind the power to pursue truth in infinite patience, to wait, reconsider, test and repeatedly verify.

It is but natural that there should be prejudice, even in science, against all innovations ; and I was prepared to wait till the first incredulity could be overcome by further cumulative evidence. Unfortunately there were misrepresentations which it was impossible to remove from this distance. Thus no circumstances could have been more desperately hopeless than those which confronted me during the next twelve years. My experience told me how great, sometimes even overwhelming, were the difficulties felt by an inquirer in India ; but they only made me stronger in my determination that India should never relinquish what had been won for her after years of struggle.

What is it that India is to win and maintain ? Has her history and the teaching of the past prepared her only for some temporary and quite subordinate gain ? There are at this moment two complementary, and not antagonistic, ideals before the country. India has been drawn into the

vortex of international competition. She has to become efficient in every way,—through spread of education, through performance of civic duties and responsibilities, through activities both industrial and commercial. Neglect of these essentials of national duty will imperil her very existence ; and sufficient stimulus for these will be found in success and satisfaction of personal ambition.

But these alone do not ensure the life of a nation. Such material activities have brought in the West their fruits in accession of power and wealth. There has been a feverish rush even in the realm of science, to exploit applications of knowledge, not so often for promotion as for destruction of life and civilization. In the absence of some power of restraint, civilization is trembling in an unstable poise on the brink of ruin. Man has followed the lure and excitement of some insatiable ambition, never pausing for a moment to think of the ultimate object to the realisation of which success was to serve as a temporary incentive. He forgot that far more potent than competition was mutual help and co-operation in the scheme of life. And in this country, through millenniums, there always have been some who, beyond the immediate and absorbing prize of the hour, sought for the realisation of the highest ideal of life—not through passive renunciation, but through active struggle. In India such examples of constant realisation of ideals through work have resulted in the formation of a continuous living tradition. And by her latent power of rejuvenescence she has readjusted herself through infinite transformations. Thus while the souls of Babylon and the Nile Valley have transmigrated, ours still remains vital, with the capacity of absorbing what time has brought, and making it one with itself.

This ideal of giving, of enriching, in fine, of self-renunciation in response to the highest call of humanity is

the other and complementary ideal. The motive power for this is not to be found in personal ambition but in the effacement of all littleness, and in the uprooting of that ignorance which regards anything as gain which is to be purchased by others' loss. This I know that no vision of truth can come except in the absence of all sources of distraction when the mind has reached the point of rest.

Public life and the various professions will be the appropriate spheres of activity for many aspiring young men. But I call on those very few who, realising an inner call, will devote their whole life with strengthened character and determined purpose to participation in the infinite struggle to win knowledge for its own sake and see truth face to face.

The work already carried out in my laboratory on the response of matter, and the unexpected revelations in plant life foreshadowing the wonders of the highest forms of animal life, have opened out vast regions of inquiry in physics, in physiology, in medicine, in agriculture and even in psychology. Problems hitherto regarded as insoluble have now been brought within the sphere of experimental investigation. These inquiries are obviously more extensive than those customary either among physicists or physiologists, as demanding interests and aptitudes hitherto more or less divided between them. In the study of Nature, there is the need of the dual view-point, the alternating interpenetration of biological thought with physical studies, and physical thought with biological studies. The future worker with his freshened grasp of physics, his fuller conception of the inorganic world, as indeed thrilling with "the promise and potency of life", will have his former energy for work and thought redoubled. Thus he will be in a position to winnow the old knowledge with finer sieves, to re-search it with new enthusiasm and

subtler instruments. And hence with thought and toil and time he may hope to bring fresher views on the old problems. His handling of these will be at once more vital and more kinetic, more comprehensive and more unified.

The further and fuller investigation of the many and ever-growing problems of the nascent science which includes the study of both Life and non-Life, is among the main purposes of the Institute I am opening to-day. In this sphere of work I am fortunate in having a devoted band of disciples, whom I have been training for the last ten years. Their number is very limited, but means may perhaps be forthcoming in future to increase it. An enlarging field of young ability may thus be available, from which will emerge, with time and labour, individual originality of research, productive invention, and some day even creative genius.

But high success is not to be obtained without corresponding experimental exactitude, and this is needed to-day more than ever, and will be equally needed to-morrow. Hence the long battery of super-sensitive instruments and apparatus, designed here, which lie in their cases in our entrance hall. They will tell you of the protracted struggle to get behind the deceptive seeming into the reality that remained unseen; of the continuous toil, persistence and ingenuity called forth for overcoming human limitations. In these directions through the ever-increasing ingenuity of device for advancing science, I see at no distant future an advance of skill and of invention among our workers; and if skill be assured, practical application will not fail to follow in different fields of human activity.

The advance of science is the principal object of this Institute, and also the diffusion of knowledge. We are here in the largest of all the many chambers of this House of Knowledge—its Lecture Room. In adding this feature,

and on a scale hitherto unprecedented in a Research Institute, I have sought permanently to associate the advancement of knowledge with the widest possible public diffusion of it ; and this, without any academic limitations, amongst all races and amongst men and women alike.

Lectures given here will not be mere repetitions at second hand of old information. They will announce to an audience of some fifteen hundred people the new discoveries made here, which will be demonstrated for the first time before the public. We shall maintain the highest aim of a great Seat of Learning by promoting advancement and dissemination of knowledge. Through the transactions of the Institute, Indian contributions will reach the whole world. The discoveries will thus become public property.

It is my further wish that, as far as the limited accommodation would permit, the facilities of this Institute should be available to workers from all countries. In this I am attempting to carry out the traditions of my country, which so far back as twenty-five centuries ago welcomed scholars from different parts of the world within the precincts of its ancient seats of learning at Nalanda and at Taxila.

With this widened outlook, we shall not only maintain the highest traditions of the past but also serve the world in nobler ways. We shall be at one with it in feeling the common surge of life, the common love for the good, the true and the beautiful. In this Institute, this Study and Garden of Life, the claim of art has not been forgotten, for the artist has been working with us, from foundation to pinnacle, and from floor to ceiling, in this very Hall. And beyond that arch, the Laboratory merges imperceptibly into the garden, which is the true laboratory for the study of Life. There the creepers, the plants and the

trees are played upon by their natural environments,—sunlight and wind and the chill at midnight under the vault of starry space. There are other surroundings also, where they will be subjected to the chromatic action of different lights, to invisible rays, to electrified ground or thunder-charged atmosphere. Everywhere they will transcribe in their own script the history of their experience. From this lofty point of observation, sheltered by the trees, the student will watch this panorama of life. Isolated from all distractions, he will learn to attune himself to Nature ; the obscuring veil will be lifted and he will gradually come to see how community throughout the great ocean of life outweighs apparent dissimilarity. In the midst of discord he will realise the great harmony.

These are the dreams that have woven a network round my wakeful life for many years past. The outlook is endless, for the goal is at infinity. The realisation can come not in the life-time of any one man, but through the efforts of successive generations.

Excessive specialisation in the West has led to the danger of losing sight of the fundamental fact that there can be but one truth, one science which includes all the branches of knowledge. How chaotic appear the happenings in Nature ! Is Nature a cosmos in which the human mind is some day to realise the uniform march of sequence, order and law ? India through her habit of mind is peculiarly fitted to realise the idea of unity, and to see in the phenomenal world an orderly universe. This trend of thought led me unconsciously to the dividing frontiers of different sciences and shaped the course of my work in its constant alternations of the theoretical and the practical, of the investigation of the inorganic world and that of organic life and its multifarious activities of growth, of movement, and even of sensation. On looking

over a hundred and fifty different lines of investigation carried on during the last twenty-three years, I now discover between the two a remarkable similarity.

In natural sequence to the investigations on the response in 'inorganic' matter, has followed a prolonged study of the activities of plant life as compared with the corresponding functioning of animal life. But since plants for the most part seem motionless and passive, and are indeed limited in their range of movements, special apparatus of extreme delicacy had to be invented, which could magnify the tremor of excitation and also measure the perception-period, in case of a plant, up to a thousandth part of a second. Ultra-microscopic movements were measured and recorded, the length measured being often smaller than a fraction of a single wave-length of light. The secret of plant life was thus for the first time revealed by the autographs of the plant itself. This evidence of the plant's own script removed the long-standing error which divided the vegetable world into sensitive and insensitive. The remarkable performance of the Praying Palm Tree of Faridpore, which bows, as if to prostrate itself, every evening, is only one of the latest instances which show that the supposed insensibility of plants and still more of rigid trees is to be ascribed to wrong theory and defective observation. My investigations show that all plants, even the trees, are fully alive to changes of environment ; they respond visibly to all stimuli, even to the slight fluctuations of light caused by a drifting cloud. This series of investigations has fully established the fundamental identity of life-reactions in plant and animal, seen even in a similar periodic insensibility in both, corresponding to what we call sleep ; and in death-spasm, which takes place in the plant as in the animal. This unity in organic life is also exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is heart-

beat ; it appears in the identical effects of stimulants, anæsthetics, and of poisons on vegetable and animal tissues. This physiological identity in the effect of drugs is regarded by leading physicians as of great significance in the scientific advance of medicine ; since here we have a means of testing the effect of drugs under conditions far simpler than those presented by the patient, far subtler too, as well as more humane, than those of experiments on animals.

The growth of plants and its variations under different treatments, is instantly recorded by my Crescograph. Authorities expect this method of investigation will advance practical agriculture ; since for the first time we have been able to analyse and study separately the conditions which modify the rate of growth. Experiments which would have taken months, and the results of which were liable to be vitiated by unknown factors, can now be carried out in a few minutes.

Returning to pure science, no phenomena in plant life are so extremely varied or so incapable of generalisation as the, "tropic" movements, such as the twining of tendrils, the heliotropic movements of some towards, and of others away from, light, and the opposite geotropic movements of the root and the shoot in the direction of gravitation or away from it. My latest investigations recently communicated to the Royal Society have established a single fundamental reaction which underlies all these extremely diverse effects.

Finally, I may say a word on that other new and unexpected chapter which is opening out from my latest researches on plants. The speed with which the nervous impulse courses through the plant has been determined ; its nervous excitability and the variation of that excitability have likewise been measured.

The nervous impulse in plant and in man is found exalted or inhibited under identical conditions. We may even follow this parallelism in what may seem extreme cases. A plant carefully protected under glass from outside shocks, looks sleek and flourishing ; yet its higher nervous function is found to be atrophied. But when a succession of blows is rained on this effete and bloated specimen, the shocks themselves create nervous channels and arouse anew the deteriorated nature. And is it not shocks of adversity, and not cotton-wool protection, that evolve true manhood ?

A question which has long been perplexing physiologists and psychologists alike is that concerned with the great mystery that underlies memory. But now through certain experiments I have carried out, it is possible to trace "memory impressions" backwards even in inorganic matter, such latent impressions being capable of subsequent revival. Again, the tone of our sensation is determined by the intensity of nervous excitation that reaches the central perceiving organ. It would theoretically be possible to change the tone or quality of our sensation, if means could be discovered by which the nervous impulse would become modified during transit. Investigation on nervous impulse in plants has led to the discovery of a controlling method, which has been found equally effective in regard to the nervous impulse in animals.

Thus physics, physiology and psychology are like converging lines that meet. And at the meeting-ground must assemble those who would seek oneness amidst the manifold. Here it is that the genius of India should find its true blossoming.

The thrill in matter, the throb of life, the pulse of growth, the impulse coursing through the nerve and the resulting sensations,—how diverse are these and yet how

unified ! How strange it is that the tremor of excitation in nervous matter should not merely be transmitted but transmuted and reflected like the image on a mirror, from a different plane of life, in sensation and in affection, in thought and in emotion ! Of these which is more real, the material body or the image which is so different ? Which of these is undecaying, and which of these is beyond the reach of death ?

In the Vedic times it was a woman who, when asked to make her choice of the wealth that would be hers for the asking, inquired whether this would win for her deathlessness. What would she do with it, if it did not raise her above death ? The cry of the soul of India has also been not for addition of material bondage, but for immortality. Many a nation had risen in the past and won the empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded temporal power. There is, however, another element which finds its incarnation in matter, yet transcends its transmutation and apparent destruction : that is the burning flame born of thought which has been handed down through fleeting generations.

Not in matter, but in thought, not in possessions or even in attainments but in ideals, are to be found the seeds of immortality. Not through material acquisition but through generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true empire of humanity be established.

INDIVIDUAL AND UNIVERSE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The civilization of ancient Greece was nurtured within city walls. In fact, all the modern civilizations have their cradles of brick and mortar.

These walls leave their mark deep in the minds of men. They set up a principle of "divide and rule" in our mental outlook, which begets in us a habit of securing all our conquests by fortifying them and separating them from one another. We divide nation and nation, knowledge and knowledge, man and nature. It breeds in us a strong suspicion of whatever is beyond the barriers we have built, and everything has to fight hard for its entrance into our recognition.

When the first Aryan invaders appeared in India it was a vast land of forests, and the newcomers rapidly took advantage of them. These forests afforded them shelter from the fierce heat of the sun and the ravages of tropical storms, pastures for cattle, fuel for sacrificial fire, and materials for building cottages. And the different Aryan clans with their patriarchal heads settled in the different forest tracts which had some special advantage of natural protection and food and water in plenty.

Thus in India (it was in the forests that our civilization had its birth, and it took a distinct character from this origin and environment.) It was surrounded by the vast life of nature, was fed and clothed by her, and had the closest and most constant intercourse with her varying aspects.

Such a life, it may be thought, tends to have the effect of dulling human intelligence and dwarfing the incentives

to progress by lowering the standards of existence. But in ancient India we find that the circumstances of forest life did not overcome man's mind, and did not enfeeble the current of his energies, but only gave to it a particular direction. Having been in constant contact with the living growth of nature, his mind was free from the desire to extend his dominion by erecting boundary walls around his acquisitions. (His aim was not to acquire but to realise, to enlarge his consciousness by growing with and growing into his surroundings.) He felt that truth is all-comprehensive, that there is no such thing as absolute isolation in existence, and the only way of attaining truth is through the interpenetration of our being into all objects. To realise this great harmony between man's spirit and the spirit of the world was the endeavour of the forest-dwelling sages of ancient India.

In later days there came a time when these primeval forests gave way to cultivated fields, and wealthy cities sprang up on all sides. Mighty kingdoms were established, which had communications with all the great powers of the world. But even in the heyday of its material prosperity the heart of India ever looked back with adoration upon the early ideal of strenuous self-realization, and the dignity of the simple life of the forest hermitage, and drew its best inspiration from the wisdom stored there.

The West seems to take a pride in thinking that it is subduing nature ; as if we are living in a hostile world where we have to wrest everything we want from an unwilling and alien arrangement of things. This sentiment is the product of the city-wall habit and training of mind. For in the city life man naturally directs the concentrated light of his mental vision upon his own life and works, and this creates an artificial dissociation between himself and the Universal Nature within whose bosom he lies.

But in India the point of view was different ; it included the world with the man as one great truth. India put all her emphasis on the harmony that exists between the individual and the universal. She felt we could have no communication whatever with our surroundings if they were absolutely foreign to us. Man's complaint against nature is that he has to acquire most of his necessities by his own efforts. Yes, but his efforts are not in vain ; he is reaping success every day, and that shows there is a rational connection between him and nature, for we never can make anything our own except that which is truly related to us.

We can look upon a road from two different points of view. One regards it as dividing us from the object of our desire ; in that case we count every step of our journey over it as something attained by force in the face of obstruction. The other sees it as the road which leads us to our destination ; and as such it is part of our goal. It is already the beginning of our attainment, and by journeying over it we can only gain that which in itself it offers to us. This last point of view is that of India with regard to nature. For her, the great fact is that we are in harmony with nature ; that man can think because his thoughts are in harmony with things ; that he can use the forces of nature for his own purpose only because his power is in harmony with the power which is universal, and that in the long run his purpose never can knock against the purpose which works through nature.

In the West the prevalent feeling is that nature belongs exclusively to inanimate things and to beasts, that there is a sudden unaccountable break where human-nature begins. According to it, everything that is low in the scale of beings is merely nature, and whatever has the stamp of perfection on it, intellectual or moral, is human-nature.

It is like dividing the bud and the blossom into two separate categories, and putting their grace to the credit of two different and antithetical principles. But the Indian mind never has any hesitation in acknowledging its kinship with nature, its unbroken relation with all.

The fundamental unity of creation was not simply a philosophical speculation for India ; it was her life-object to realise this great harmony in feeling and in action. With meditation and service, with a regulation of her life, she cultivated her consciousness in such a way that everything had a spiritual meaning to her. The earth, water and light, fruits and flowers, to her were not merely physical phenomena to be turned to use and then left aside. They were necessary to her in the attainment of her ideal of perfection, as every note is necessary to the completeness of the symphony. India intuitively felt that the essential fact of this world has a vital meaning for us ; we have to be fully alive to it and establish a conscious relation with it, not merely impelled by scientific curiosity or greed of material advantage, but realising it in the spirit of sympathy, with a large feeling of joy and peace.

The man of science knows, in one aspect, that the world is not merely what it appears to be to our senses ; he knows that earth and water are really the play of forces that manifest themselves to us as earth and water—how, we can but partially apprehend. Likewise the man who has his spiritual eyes open knows that the ultimate truth about earth and water lies in our apprehension of the eternal will which works in time and takes shape in the forces we realise under those aspects. This is not mere knowledge, as science is, but it is a perception of the soul by the soul. This does not lead us to power, as knowledge does, but it gives us joy, which is the product of the union of kindred things. The man whose acquaintance with the world

does not lead him deeper than science leads him, will never understand what it is that the man with the spiritual vision finds in these natural phenomena. The water does not merely cleanse his limbs, but it purifies his heart ; for it touches his soul. The earth does not merely hold his body, but it gladdens his mind ; for its contact is more than a physical contact—it is a living presence. When a man does not realise his kinship with the world, he lives in a prison-house whose walls are alien to him. When he meets the eternal spirit in all objects, then is he emancipated, for then he discovers the fullest significance of the world into which he is born ; then he finds himself in perfect truth, and his harmony with the all is established. In India men are enjoined to be fully awake to the fact that they are in the closest relation to things around them, body and soul, and that they are to hail the morning sun, the flowing water, the fruitful earth, as the manifestation of the same living truth which holds them in its embrace. Thus the text of our everyday meditation is the *Gayatri*, a verse which is considered to be the epitome of all the *Vedas*. By its help we try to realise the essential unity of the world with the conscious soul of man ; we learn to perceive the unity held together by the one Eternal Spirit, whose power creates the earth, the sky, and the stars, and at the same time irradiates our minds with the light of a consciousness that moves and exists in unbroken continuity with the outer world.

It is not true that India has tried to ignore differences of value in different things, for she knows that would make life impossible. The sense of the superiority of man in the scale of creation has not been absent from her mind. But she has had her own idea as to that in which his superiority really consists. It is not in the power of possession but in the power of union. Therefore India chose her places of

pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or beauty, so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realise its place in the infinite. This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind.

India knew that when by physical and mental barriers we violently detach ourselves from the inexhaustible life of nature ; when we become merely man, not man-in-the-universe, we create bewildering problems, and having shut off the source of their solution, we try all kinds of artificial methods, each of which brings its own crop of interminable difficulties. When man leaves his resting-place in universal nature, when he walks on the single rope of humanity, it means either a dance or a fall for him, he has ceaselessly to strain every nerve and muscle to keep his balance at each step, and then, in the intervals of his weariness, he fulminates against Providence and feels a secret pride and satisfaction in thinking that he has been unfairly dealt with by the whole scheme of things.

But this cannot go on for ever. (Man must realise the wholeness of his existence, his place in the infinite ; he must know that hard as he may strive he can never create his honey within the cells of his hive, for the perennial supply of his life-food is outside their walls.) He must know that when man shuts himself out from the vitalising and purifying touch of the infinite, and falls back upon himself for his sustenance and his healing, then he goads himself into madness, tears himself into shreds, and eats his own substance. Deprived of the background of the whole, his poverty loses its one great quality, which is simplicity, and becomes squalid and shamefaced. His wealth is no longer magnanimous ; it grows merely extra-

vagant. (His appetites do not minister to his life, keeping to the limits of their purpose ; they become an end in themselves and set fire to his life and play the fiddle in the lurid light of the conflagration.) Then it is that in our self-expression we try to startle and not to attract ; in art we strive for originality and lose sight of truth which is old and yet ever new ; in literature we miss the complete view of man which is simple and yet great. Man appears instead as a psychological problem, or as the embodiment of a passion that is intense because abnormal, being exhibited in the glare of a fiercely emphatic artificial light. When man's consciousness is restricted only to the immediate vicinity of his human self, the deeper roots of his nature do not find their permanent soil, his spirit is ever on the brink of starvation, and in the place of healthful strength he substitutes rounds of stimulation. Then it is that man misses his inner perspective and measures his greatness by its bulk and not by its vital link with the infinite, judges his activity by its movement and not by the repose of perfection—the repose which is in the starry heavens, in the ever-flowing rhythmic dance of creation.

The first invasion of India has its exact parallel in the invasion of America by the European settlers. They also were confronted with primeval forests and a fierce struggle with aboriginal races. But this struggle between man and man, and man and nature lasted till the very end ; they never came to any terms. In India the forests which were the habitation of barbarians became the sanctuary of sages, but in America these great living cathedrals of nature had no deeper significance to man. They brought wealth and power to him, and perhaps at times they ministered to his enjoyment of beauty, and inspired a solitary poet. They never acquired a sacred association in the hearts of men, as the site of some great spiritual reconciliation where

man's soul had its meeting-place with the soul of the world.

I do not for a moment wish to suggest that things should have been otherwise. It would be an utter waste of opportunities if history were to repeat itself exactly in the same manner in every place. It is best for the commerce of the spirit that people differently situated should bring their different products into the market of humanity, each of which is complementary and necessary to the others. All that I wish to say is that India at the outset of her career met with a special combination of circumstances which was not lost upon her. She had, according to her opportunities, thought and pondered, striven and suffered, dived into the depths of existence, and achieved something which surely cannot be without its value to people whose evolution in history took a different way altogether. (Man for his perfect growth requires all the living elements that constitute his complex life ; that is why his food has to be cultivated in different fields and brought from different sources.)

Civilization is a kind of mould that each nation is busy making for itself to shape its men and women according to its best ideal. , All its institutions, its legislature, its standard of approbation and condemnation, its conscious and unconscious teachings tend towards that object. The modern civilization of the West, by all its organised efforts, is trying to turn out men perfect in physical, intellectual, and moral efficiency. There the vast energies of the nations are employed in extending man's power over his surroundings, and people are combining and straining every faculty to possess and to turn to account all that they can lay their hands upon, to overcome every obstacle on their path of conquest. They are ever disciplining themselves to fight nature and other races ; their armaments are getting more and more stupendous every day ; their machines, their

appliances, their organisations go on multiplying at an amazing rate. (This is a splendid achievement no doubt, and a wonderful manifestation of man's masterfulness, which knows no obstacle and has for its object the supremacy of himself over everything else.)

(The ancient civilization of India had its own ideal of perfection towards which its efforts were directed.) Its aim was not attaining power, and it neglected to cultivate to the utmost its capacities, and to organise men for defensive and offensive purposes, for co-operation in the acquisition of wealth and for military and political ascendancy. The ideal that India tried to realise led her best men to the isolation of a contemplative life, and the treasures that she gained for mankind by penetrating into the mysteries of reality cost her dear in the sphere of worldly success. Yet this also was a sublime achievement,—it was a supreme manifestation of that human aspiration which knows no limit, and which has for its object nothing less than the realisation of the Infinite.

There were the virtuous, the wise, the courageous ; there were the statesmen, kings and emperors of India ; but whom amongst all these classes did she look up to and choose to be the representative of men ?

They were the rishis. What were the rishis ? They who having attained the supreme soul in knowledge were filled with wisdom, and having found him in union with the soul were in perfect harmony with the inner self ; they having realised him in the heart were free from all selfish desires, and having experienced him in all the activities of the world, had attained calmness. The rishis were they who having reached the supreme God from all sides had found abiding peace, had become united with all, had entered into the life of the Universe.

(Thus the state of realising our relationship with all, of entering into everything through union with God, was

considered in India to be the ultimate end and fulfilment of humanity.)

Man can destroy and plunder, earn and accumulate, invent and discover, but he is great because his soul comprehends all. It is dire destruction for him when he envelops his soul in a dead shell of callous habits, and when a blind fury of works whirls round him like an eddying dust-storm, shutting out the horizon. That indeed kills the very spirit of his being, which is the spirit of comprehension. Essentially man is not a slave either of himself or of the world ; but he is a lover. His freedom and fulfilment is in love, which is another name for perfect comprehension. By this power of comprehension, this permeation of his being, he is united with the all-pervading Spirit, who is also the breath of his soul. Where a man tries to raise himself to eminence by pushing and jostling all others, to achieve a distinction by which he prides himself to be more than everybody else, there he is alienated from that Spirit. This is why the *Upanishads* describe those who have attained the goal of human life as “ peaceful ” and as “ at-one-with-God ”, meaning that they are in perfect harmony with man and nature, and therefore in undisturbed union with God.

We have a glimpse of the same truth in the teachings of Jesus when he says, “ It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven ”—which implies that whatever we treasure for ourselves separates us from others ; (our possessions are our limitations.) He who is bent upon accumulating riches is unable, with his ego continually bulging, to pass through the gates of comprehension of the spiritual world, which is the world of perfect harmony ; he is shut up within the narrow walls of his limited acquisitions.

(Hence the spirit of the teachings of the *Upanishads* is : In order to find him you must embrace all.) In the pursuit of wealth you really give up everything to gain a few things, and that is not the way to attain him who is completeness.

—*Sadhana*

NATIONALISM IN THE WEST

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Man's history is being shaped according to the difficulties it encounters. These have offered us problems and claimed their solutions from us, the penalty of non-fulfilment being death or degradation.

These difficulties have been different in different peoples of the earth, and in the manner of our overcoming them lies our distinction.

The Scythians of the earlier period of Asiatic history had to struggle with the scarcity of their natural resources. The easiest solution that they could think of was to organize their whole population, men, women, and children, into bands of robbers. And they were irresistible to those who were chiefly engaged in the constructive work of social co-operation.

But, fortunately for man the easiest path is not his truest path. If his nature were not as complex as it is, if it were as simple as that of a pack of hungry wolves, then, by this time, those hordes of marauders would have overrun the earth. But man, when confronted with difficulties, has to acknowledge that he is man, that he has his responsibilities to the higher faculties of his nature, by ignoring which he may achieve success that is immediate, perhaps, but that will become a death-trap to him. For what are obstacles to the lower creatures, are opportunities to the higher life of man.

To India has been given her problem from the beginning of history—it is the race problem. Races ethnologically different have in this country come into close contact.

This fact has been and still continues to be the most important one in our history. It is our mission to face it and prove our humanity by dealing with it in the fullest truth. Until we fulfil our mission all other benefits will be denied us.

There are other peoples in the world who have to overcome obstacles in their physical surroundings, or the menace of their powerful neighbours. They have organized their power till they are not only reasonably free from the tyranny of Nature and human neighbours, but have a surplus of it left in their hands to employ against others. But in India, our difficulties being internal, our history has been the history of continual social adjustment and not that of organized power for defence and aggression.

Neither the colourless vagueness of cosmopolitanism, nor the fierce self-idolatry of nation-worship, is the goal of human history. And India has been trying to accomplish her task through social regulation of differences, on the one hand, and the spiritual recognition of unity on the other. She has made grave errors in setting up the boundary walls too rigidly between races, in perpetuating in her classifications the results of inferiority ; often she has crippled her children's minds and narrowed their lives in order to fit them into her social forms ; but for centuries new experiments have been made and adjustments carried out.

Her mission has been like that of a hostess who has to provide proper accommodation for numerous guests, whose habits and requirements are different from one another. This gives rise to infinite complexities whose solution depends not merely upon tactfulness but upon sympathy and true realization of the unity of man. Towards this realization have worked, from the early time of the *Upanishads* up to the present moment, a series of great

spiritual teachers, whose one object has been to set at naught all differences of man by the overflow of our consciousness of God. In fact, our history has not been of the rise and fall of kingdoms, of fights for political supremacy. In our country, records of these days have been despised and forgotten, for they in no way represent the true history of our people. Our history is that of our social life and attainment of spiritual ideals.

But we feel that our task is not yet done. The world-flood has swept over our country, new elements have been introduced, and wider adjustments are waiting to be made.

We feel this all the more, because the teaching and example of the West have entirely run counter to what we think was given to India to accomplish. In the West the national machinery of commerce and politics turns out neatly compressed bales of humanity which have their use and high market value ; but they are bound in iron hoops, labelled and separated off with scientific care and precision. Obviously God made man to be human ; but this modern product has such marvellous square-cut finish, savouring of gigantic manufacture, that the Creator will find it difficult to recognize it as a thing of spirit and a creature made in His own divine image.

But I am anticipating. What I was about to say is this. Take it in whatever spirit you like, here is India, of about fifty centuries at least, who tried to live peacefully and think deeply, the India devoid of all politics, the India of no nations, whose one ambition has been to know this world as of soul, to live here every moment of her life in the meek spirit of adoration, in the glad consciousness of an eternal and personal relationship with it. It was upon this remote portion of humanity, childlike in its manner, with the wisdom of the old, that the Nation of the West burst in.

Through all the fights and intrigues and deceptions of her earlier history India had remained aloof, because her homes, her fields, her temples of worship, her schools, where her teachers and students lived together in the atmosphere of simplicity and devotion and learning, her village self-government with its simple laws and peaceful administration—all these truly belonged to her; and her thrones were not her concern. They passed over her head like clouds, now tinged with purple gorgeousness, now black with the threat of thunder. Often they brought devastations in their wake, but they were like catastrophes of nature whose traces are soon forgotten.

But this time it was different. It was not a mere drift over her surface of life—drift of cavalry and foot soldiers, richly caparisoned elephants, white tents and canopies, strings of patient camels bearing the loads of royalty, bands of kettle-drums and flutes, marble domes of mosques, palaces and tombs, like the bubbles of the foaming wine of extravagance; stories of treachery and loyal devotion, of changes of fortune, of dramatic surprises of fate. This time it was the Nation of the West driving its tentacles of machinery deep down into the soil.

Therefore I say to you, it is we who are called as witnesses to give evidence as to what our Nation has been to humanity. We had known the hordes of Moghals and Pathans who invaded India, but we had known them as human races, with their own religions and customs, likes and dislikes,—we had never known them as a nation. We loved and hated them as occasions arose; we fought for them and against them, talked with them in a language which was theirs as well as our own and guided the destiny of the Empire in which we had our active share. But this time we had to deal, not with kings, not with human races, but with a nation—we, who are no nation ourselves.

Now let us from our own experience answer the question. What is this Nation ?

A nation, in the sense of the political and economic union of a people, is that aspect which a whole population assumes, when organized for a mechanical purpose. Society as such has no ulterior purpose. It is an end in itself. It is a spontaneous self-expression of man as a social being. It is a natural regulation of human relationships, so that men can develop ideals of life in co-operation with one another. It has also a political side, but this is only for a special purpose. It is for self-preservation. It is merely the side of power, not of human ideals. And in the early days it had its separate place in society, restricted to the professionals. But when with the help of science and the perfecting of organization this power begins to grow and brings in harvests of wealth, then it crosses its boundaries with amazing rapidity. For then it goads all its neighbouring societies with greed of material prosperity, and consequent mutual jealousy, and by the fear of each other's growth into powerfulness. The time comes when it can stop no longer, for the competition grows keener, organization grows vaster, and selfishness attains supremacy. Trading upon the greed and fear of man, it occupies more and more space in society, and at last becomes its ruling force.

It is just possible that you have lost through habit the consciousness that the living bonds of society are breaking up, and giving place to merely mechanical organization. But you see signs of it everywhere. It is owing to this that war has been declared between man and woman, because the natural thread is snapping which holds them together in harmony ; because man is driven to professionalism, producing wealth for himself and others, continually turning the wheel of power for his own sake or for the sake of

the universal officialdom, leaving woman alone to wither and to die or to fight her own battle unaided. And thus there where co-operation is natural has intruded competition. The very psychology of men and women about their mutual relation is changing and becoming the psychology of the primitive fighting elements, rather than of humanity seeking its completeness through the union based upon mutual self-surrender. For the elements which have lost their living bond of reality have lost the meaning of their existence. Like gaseous particles forced into a too narrow space, they come in continual conflict with each other till they burst the very arrangement which holds them in bondage.

Then look at those who call themselves anarchists, who resent the imposition of power, in any form whatever, upon the individual. The only reason for this is that power has become too abstract—it is a scientific product made in the political laboratory of the Nation, through the dissolution of personal humanity.

And what is the meaning of these strikes in the economic world, which like the prickly shrubs in a barren soil shoot up with renewed vigour each time they are cut down? What, but that the wealth-producing mechanism is incessantly growing into vast stature, out of proportion to all other needs of society,—and the full reality of man is more and more crushed under its weight? This state of things inevitably gives rise to eternal feuds among the elements freed from the wholeness and wholesomeness of human ideals, and interminable economic war is waged between capital and labour. For greed of wealth and power can never have a limit, and compromise of self-interest can never attain the final spirit of reconciliation. They must go on breeding jealousy and suspicion to the end—the end which only comes through some sudden catastrophe or a spiritual re-birth.

When this organization of politics and commerce, whose other name is the Nation, becomes all-powerful at the cost of the harmony of the higher social life, then it is an evil day for humanity. When a father becomes a gambler and his obligations to his family take the secondary place in his mind, then he is no longer a man, but an automaton led by the power of greed. Then he can do things which, in his normal state of mind, he would be ashamed to do. It is the same thing with society. When it allows itself to be turned into a perfect organization of power, then there are few crimes which it is unable to perpetrate. Because success is the object and justification of a machine, while goodness only is the end and purpose of man. When this engine of organization begins to attain a vast size, and those who are mechanics are made into parts of the machine, then the personal man is eliminated to a phantom, everything becomes a revolution of policy carried out by the human parts of the machine, with no twinge of pity or moral responsibility. It may happen that even through this apparatus the moral nature of man tries to assert itself, but the whole series of ropes and pulleys creak and cry, the forces of the human heart become entangled among the forces of the human automaton, and only with difficulty can the moral purpose transmit itself into some tortured shape of result.

This abstract being, the Nation, is ruling India. We have seen in our country some brands of tinned food advertised as entirely made and packed without being touched by hand. This description applies to the governing of India, which is as little touched by the human hand as possible. The governors need not know our language, need not come into personal touch with us except as officials ; they can aid or hinder our aspirations from a disdainful distance, they can lead us on a certain path of policy .

and then pull us back again with the manipulation of office red tape ; the newspapers of England, in whose columns London street accidents are recorded with some decency of pathos, need but take the scantiest notice of calamities which happen in India over areas of land sometimes larger than the British Isles.

But we, who are governed, are not a mere abstraction. We, on our side, are individuals with living sensibilities. What comes to us in the shape of a mere bloodless policy may pierce into the very core of our life, may threaten the whole future of our people with a perpetual helplessness of emasculation, and yet may never touch the chord of humanity on the other side or touch it in the most inadequately feeble manner. Such wholesale and universal acts of fearful responsibility man can never perform, with such a degree of systematic unawareness, where he is an individual human being. These only become possible, where the man is represented by an octopus of abstractions, sending out its wriggling arms in all directions of space, and fixing its innumerable suckers even into the far-away future. In this reign of the Nation, the governed are pursued by suspicions ; and these are the suspicions of a tremendous mass of organized brain and muscle. Punishments are meted out, which leave a trail of miseries across a large bleeding tract of the human heart ; but these punishments are dealt by a mere abstract force, in which a whole population of a distant country has lost its human personality.

I have not come here, however, to discuss the question as it affects my own country, but as it affects the future of all humanity. It is not a question of the British Government, but of government by the Nation—the Nation which is the organized self-interest of a whole people, where it is least human and least spiritual. Our only intimate

experience of the Nation is with the British Nation, and as far as the government by the Nation goes there are reasons to believe that it is one of the best. Then, again, we have to consider that the West is necessary to the East. We are complementary to each other because of our different outlooks upon life which have given us different aspects of truth. Therefore if it be true that the spirit of the West has come upon our fields in the guise of a storm, it is nevertheless scattering living seeds that are immortal. And when in India we become able to assimilate in our life what is permanent in Western civilization, we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of these two great worlds. Then will come to an end the one-sided dominance which is galling. What is more, we have to recognize that the history of India does not belong to one particular race but to a process of creation to which various races of the world contributed—the Dravidians and the Aryans, the ancient Greeks and the Persians, the Mohammedans of the West and those of Central Asia. Now at last has come the turn of the English to become true to this history and bring to it the tribute of their life, and we neither have the right nor the power to exclude this people from the building of the destiny of India. Therefore what I say about the Nation, has more to do with the history of Man than specially with that of India.

This history has come to a stage when the moral man, the complete man, is more and more giving way, almost without knowing it, to make room for the political and the commercial man, the man of the limited purpose. This process, aided by the wonderful progress in science, is assuming gigantic proportion and power, causing the upset of man's moral balance, obscuring his human side under the shadow of soulless organization. We have felt its iron grip at the root of our life, and for the sake of humanity we

must stand up and give warning to all, that this nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, and eating into its moral vitality.

I have a deep love and a great respect for the British race as human beings. It has produced great-hearted men, thinkers of great thoughts, doers of great deeds. It has given rise to a great literature. I know that these people love justice and freedom, and hate lies. They are clean in their minds, frank in their manners, true in their friendships ; in their behaviour they are honest and reliable. The personal experience which I have had of their literary men has roused my admiration not merely for their power of thought or expression but for their chivalrous humanity. We have felt the greatness of this people as we feel the sun ; but as for the Nation, it is for us a thick mist of a stifling nature covering the sun itself.

This government by the Nation is neither British nor anything else ; it is an applied science and therefore more or less similar in its principles wherever it is used. It is like a hydraulic press, whose pressure is impersonal, and on that account completely effective. The amount of its power may vary in different engines. Some may even be driven by hand, thus leaving a margin of comfortable looseness in their tension, but in spirit and in method their differences are small. Our Government might have been Dutch, or French, or Portuguese, and its essential features would have remained much the same as they are now. Only perhaps, in some cases, the organization might not have been so densely perfect, and, therefore, some shreds of the human might still have been clinging to the wreck, allowing us to deal with something which resembles our own throbbing heart.

Before the Nation came to rule over us, we had other governments which were foreign, and these, like all govern-

ments, had some element of the machine in them. But the difference between them and the government by the Nation is like the difference between the hand-loom and the power-loom. In the products of the hand-loom the magic of man's living fingers finds its expression, and its hum harmonizes with the music of life. But the power-loom is relentlessly lifeless and accurate and monotonous in its production.

We must admit that during the personal government of the former days there have been instances of tyranny, injustice and extortion. They caused sufferings and unrest from which we are glad to be rescued. The protection of law is not only a boon, but it is a valuable lesson to us. It is teaching us the discipline which is necessary for the stability of civilization and for continuity of progress. We are realizing through it that there is a universal standard of justice to which all men, irrespective of their caste and colour, have their equal claim.

This reign of law in our present Government in India has established order in this vast land inhabited by people different in their races and customs. It has made it possible for these peoples to come in closer touch with one another and cultivate a communion of aspiration.

But this desire for a common bond of comradeship among the different races of India has been the work of the spirit of the West, not that of the Nation of the West.

—*Nationalism*

THE SECRET OF WORK

BY SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Helping others physically, by removing their physical needs, is indeed a good thing, but help is more substantial according as it is more far-reaching because the need is greater. If a man's wants can be removed for an hour, it is helping him indeed ; if his wants can be removed for a year, it will be more help to him ; but if his wants can be removed for ever, it is surely the greatest help that can be given him. It is only with the knowledge of the spirit that the faculty of want is annihilated for ever ; so helping man spiritually is the best help that can be extended to him. He who gives spiritual knowledge is the greatest benefactor of mankind. A spiritually strong and sound man can be powerful in every other respect, if he so wishes. Until there is spiritual strength in man, even physical needs cannot be well satisfied. Next to spiritual comes intellectual help. The gift of knowledge is a far higher gift than that of food and clothes ; it is even higher than giving life to a man, because the real life of man consists of knowledge. Ignorance is death, knowledge is life. Life is of very little value, if it is a life in the dark, groping through ignorance and misery. Next comes, of course, physical help. Therefore, in considering the question of helping others, we must always strive not to commit the mistake of thinking that physical help is the only kind of help that can be given. It is the least important, because it can never bring permanent satisfaction. The misery that I feel when I am hungry is removed by eating, but hunger returns ;

my misery can cease only when I am satisfied beyond all want. Then hunger will not make me miserable ; no distress, no sorrow will be able to move me. Thus help which tends to make us strong spiritually is of the highest type, next comes intellectual help, and after that physical help.

The miseries of the world cannot be cured by physical help only. Until man's nature changes, his physical needs will always arise, and miseries will always be felt, and no amount of physical help will remove them completely. The only solution of the problem is to make mankind pure. Ignorance is the mother of evil and of all the misery we see. Let men have light, let them be pure and spiritually strong and educated ; then alone will misery cease in the world. We may convert every house in the country into a charitable asylum, we may fill the land with hospitals, but human misery will continue until man's character changes.

We read in the *Bhagavad-Geeta* again and again that we must all work incessantly. We cannot do any work which will not do some good somewhere ; there cannot also be any work which will not cause some harm somewhere. Every work must necessarily be a mixture of good and evil ; yet we are commanded to work incessantly. Good and evil will both have their consequences. Good action will entail upon us good effect ; bad action bad. But good and bad both forge fetters for the soul. The solution reached in the *Geeta* in regard to this cramping influence of work is, that if we do not attach ourselves to it, it will not hold our soul in bondage. We shall try to understand what is meant by this "non-attachment" to work.

This is the one central idea in the *Geeta* ; work incessantly, but be not attached to it. *Samskara* can be translated very nearly by "inherent tendency". To use the simile of a lake for the mind, no ripple or wave that rises in it,

dies out entirely, but it leaves a mark and there is a possibility of that wave coming out again. This mark, with the possibility of the wave reappearing, is what is called *Samskara*. Every work that we do, every movement of the body, every thought that we think, leaves such an impression on the mind-stuff, and even when the impressions are not obvious on the surface, they work in the subconscious region of the brain. What we are is determined every moment by the sum total of these impressions on the mind. What I am just at this moment, is the effect of the sum total of all the impressions of my past life. This is really what is meant by character ; each man's character is determined by the sum total of these impressions. If good impressions prevail, the character becomes good ; if bad, it becomes bad. If a man continuously hears bad words, thinks bad thoughts, does bad acts, his mind will be full of bad impressions ; and they will influence his thought and work without his being conscious of the fact. These bad impressions will always be working, and their resultant must be evil, and the man will be a bad man : he cannot help it. The sum total of these impressions in him will create a strong motive power for doing bad acts. He will be like a machine in the hands of his impressions, and they will force him to do evil. Similarly, if a man thinks good thoughts and does good work, the sum total of their impressions will be good ; and this, in a similar manner, will force him to do good even in spite of himself. When a man has done so much good work and thought so many good thoughts that there is an irresistible tendency in him to do good in spite of himself and even if he wishes to do evil, his mind, as the sum total of his tendencies, will not allow him to do so ; these will hold him back. When such is the case, the man's good character is said to be established.

As the tortoise tucks its feet and head inside the shell and will not come out even though you may break the shell into pieces, even so the character of the man who has control over his motives and organs, is unchangeably established. He controls his own inner forces, and nothing can draw them out against his will. By this continuous reflex of good thoughts and good impressions moving over the surface of the mind, the tendency to do good becomes strong, and in consequence we are able to control the *Indriyas* (sense-organs, the nerve-centres). Thus alone is character formed, and only a man of character can get at truth. Such a man is safe for ever ; he cannot do any evil. You may place him in any company, but there will be no danger for him. There is a still higher state than having this good tendency, and that is the desire for liberation. You must remember that freedom of the soul is the goal of all systems of *Yoga*, and each one of these equally leads to the same result. Through work alone men may get where Buddha got largely through meditation or Christ through prayer. Buddha was a *Jnani*, Christ was a *Bhakta*, but the same goal was reached by both of them. The difficulty is here. Liberation means full freedom—freedom from the bondage of good, as well as from the bondage of evil. A golden chain is as much a chain as an iron one. There is a thorn in my finger, and I use another to take the first one out, and when I have taken it out, I throw both of them aside. I have no necessity for keeping the second thorn, because it is a thorn after all. So bad tendencies are to be counteracted by good ones, and bad impressions on the mind should be removed by the fresh waves of good ones, until all that is evil almost disappears, or is subdued and held in control in a corner of the mind ; but after that, the good tendencies also have to be removed. Thus the “attached” becomes the “unattached.” Work, but

let not the action or the thought produce a deep impression on your mind. Let the ripples come and go, let great actions proceed from the muscles and the brain, but let them not make any deep impression on the soul.

How can this be done ? We see that the impression of every action to which we get attached remains. I may meet hundreds of persons during the day, and among them meet also one whom I love ; but when I retire at night and try to think of all the faces I saw, only one face comes before the mind's eye—the face which I saw perhaps only for one minute, and which I loved ; all the others have vanished. Owing to my attachment to a particular person, his face caused a deeper impression on my mind than those of the others. But physically, the impressions have all been the same.

Therefore, be “unattached” ; let the brain centres work ; work incessantly, but let not the mind be affected. Work as if you were a stranger in this land, a sojourner ; work incessantly, but do not bind yourselves ; bondage is terrible. This world is not our habitation, it is only one of the many stages through which we are passing. Remember the great teaching of the *Sankhya*, “The whole of nature is for the soul, not the soul for nature”. The very reason for nature's existence is education of the soul ; it has no other meaning ; it is there because the soul must have knowledge, and through knowledge free itself. If we remember this always, we shall never be attached to nature ; we shall know that nature is a book which we are to read, and that when we have gained the required knowledge, the book is of no more value to us. We are identifying ourselves with nature ; we are thinking that the soul is for nature, that the spirit is for the flesh, and, as the common saying has it, we think that man “lives to eat” and not “eats to live.” We are continually

making this mistake; we are regarding nature as ourselves and are becoming attached to it; and as soon as this attachment comes, there is the deep impression on the soul, which binds us down and makes us work not as freemen but as slaves.

The gist of this teaching is that you should work like a master and not like a slave; work incessantly, but do not do slave's work. Do you not see how everybody works? Nobody can be altogether at rest; ninety-nine per cent of men work like slaves, and the result is misery; it is all selfish work. But work with freedom, inspired by love! The word "Love" is very difficult to understand; love never comes until there is freedom. There is no true love possible in the slave. If you buy a slave and tie him down in chains and make him work for you, he will work like a drudge, but there will be no love in him. So when we ourselves work for the things of the world as slaves, there can be no love in us, and our work is not true work. This is true of work done for relatives and friends, and is true of work done for ourselves. Selfish work is slave's work; and here is a test. Every act of love brings happiness; there is no act of love which does not bring peace and blessedness in its train. Real existence, real knowledge, and real love are eternally connected with one another, the three in one; where one of them is, the others also must be; they are the three aspects of the One without a second—the Existence-Knowledge-Bliss. When this existence becomes relative, we see it as the world; this knowledge becomes in its turn modified into the knowledge of the things of the world; and this bliss forms the foundation of all true love known to the heart of man. Therefore true love can never react so as to cause pain either to the lover or to the beloved. Suppose a man loves a woman; he wishes to have her all to himself and feels extremely

jealous about every movement of hers ; he wants her to sit near him, to stand near him, and to eat and move at his bidding. He is a slave of desire and wishes to have her as his slave. That is not love ; it is a kind of morbid affection of the slave, insinuating itself as love. It cannot be love, because it is painful ; if she does not do what he wants, it brings him pain. To love there is no painful reaction ; love only brings a reaction of bliss ; if it does not, it is not love ; it is something else. When you have succeeded in loving your husband, your wife, your children, the whole world, the universe, in such a manner that there is no reaction of pain or jealousy, no selfish feeling, then you are in a fit state to be unattached.

Krishna says : “ Look at Me, Arjuna ! If I stop from work for one moment, the whole universe will decay. I have nothing to gain from work ; I am the one Lord, but why do I work ? Because I love the world.” God is unattached because He loves ; real love makes us unattached. Wherever there is attachment, clinging to the things of the world, you must know that it is all physical love—an attraction among particles of matter. If lovers cannot get near enough, they feel pain. But where there is real love, this does not rest on physical attachment at all. Lovers may be a thousand miles away from each other, but their love does not die, and will never produce any painful reaction.

To attain this unattachment is almost a life's work, but as soon as we have reached this point, we have attained the goal of love and become free ; the bondage of nature falls from us, and we see nature as she is ; she forges no more chains for us ; we stand entirely free and take not the results of work into consideration ; who then cares for what these may be ?

Do you ask anything of your children in return for

what you have given them ? It is your duty to work for them, and there the matter ends. In whatever you do for a particular person, a city, or a state, assume the same attitude towards it as you have towards your children—expect nothing in return. If you can invariably take the position of a giver, in which everything given by you is a free offering to the world, without any thought of return, your work will bring you no attachment. Attachment comes only where we expect a return.

If working like slaves results in selfish attachment, working as masters of our own mind gives rise to the bliss of non-attachment. We often talk of right and justice, but we find that in this world right and justice are mere baby's talk. There are two things which guide the conduct of men : might and mercy. The exercise of might is invariably an act of selfishness. All men and women try to make the most of whatever power or advantage they have. Mercy is heavenly ; to be good, we have all to be merciful. Even justice and right should stand on mercy. All thought of obtaining return for the work we do, hinders our spiritual progress ; nay, in the end it brings misery. There is another way in which this idea of mercy and selfless charity can be put into practice ; that is, by looking upon work as “ worship ” in case we believe in a Personal God. Here we give up all the fruits of our work unto the Lord, and, worshipping Him thus, we have no right to expect anything from mankind for what we do. The Lord Himself works incessantly and is ever without attachment. Just as water cannot wet the lotus leaf, so work cannot bind the unselfish man by giving rise to attachment to results. The selfless and unattached man may live in the very heart of a crowded and sinful city, yet he will not be touched by sin.

Now you see what *Karma-Yoga* is ;—readiness to act

and help every one, without any thought of return. Never vaunt of your gifts to the poor or expect their gratitude, but rather be grateful to them for giving you the opportunity of practising charity. Thus it is plain that to be an ideal householder is much more difficult than to be an ideal *Sannyasi*; the true life of action is indeed harder than the equally true life of renunciation.

—*Selections from Swami Vivekananda*

NATIONAL IDEALS

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI

We should come to a clear conception of what our national ideals consist of. Do we want to be part of the "civilized world," and make our contribution to its progress, by thought and action, or do we want to be an isolated national unit, happy in our retirement and isolation ? Of course, we want political liberty, economic independence, social solidarity and religious freedom, but to what end ? Are these things ends in themselves or only a means to some other and higher end ? If so, what is it ?

Some will say that salvation is the ultimate end we desire. But what is meant by salvation ? Is it the *Nirvana* of Buddhism, the merging of the individual soul in the supreme soul of the *Vedanta*, the temporary bliss of the *Arya Samaj*, the *Mukti* of the Christian or the paradise of the orthodox Moslem ? Or are these, after all, only delusions ? The real salvation lies in freedom from misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery of every kind, in this life, now and here for ourselves and hereafter for our successors. There are religions which enjoin on their followers the duty of suffering all the pangs of misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery, in order to have the certainty of bliss and happiness in the life to come. In fact, this is more or less the tendency of all religions which have been well-established.

From the earnestness which all classes of Indians are displaying in fighting misery, poverty, disease, ignorance, and slavery, it appears that they have made up their minds on one question at least : whatever their ultimate aim

may be, *Mukti* or *Nirvana*, our people do not want misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery either for themselves or for their children. Hindus (Sanatanists, Arya Samajists, Brahmo Samajists, Vedantists and others), Moslems, Christians, are all agreed on this point. Every one is trying to explain his dogma or creed in such a way as to make the pursuit of happiness in this world, through the acquisition of wealth and health and knowledge, a desirable end. The natural bent of the human mind is also in the same direction.

But priests, prophets and reformers are not dead, nor do they show any signs of death. They are just hiding their heads and biding their time. With the least encouragement they come out into the open and start their poisonous propaganda. A life of renunciation and poverty is still the ostensible goal of every religion. *Sannyasis*, *Dervishes* and monks are still our ideals of human perfection. Even the most rational and liberal-minded reformer respects and admires them. Men of religion we call them ; and hence our instinctive, deep-rooted sentiment is in their favour. What is worse, educated men, who are neither priests nor monks, and who, in most cases, do not themselves lead a life of asceticism, are holding up that ideal for their younger countrymen.

Every religion preaches sublime spiritual principles, but religious teaching, as ordinarily understood, invariably lays emphasis on the negation of life, and not on its full realisation.

Higher Hindu religion teaches that salvation lies in *Jnan* which is not mere knowledge, but realized knowledge. It insists that those who aspire to this must live a full life, albeit a controlled life. They must do their full share of duty to society and learn all the lessons of worldly life. They could next renounce

only certain phases of life in favour of others. Renunciation did not in ancient times involve an exaltation of poverty over wealth, but only freedom from the obligations of property at a certain stage of one's life. In fact, the most ancient literature of the Hindus makes no mention, except by far-fetched implication, of *Sannyasis*. All the great *Rishis* and *Munis* of the past had property, as well as family. They preferred to live away from crowds only for purposes of research, *Yoga-Samadhi* or concentration of mind on the problems of life. This was not an end in itself, but a new social means to a social end.

It was not a desire for *Mukti* that led them to do it, but the very social and admirable desire of helping humanity by attempting a rational solution of the problems of life. Look how this ideal was degraded in later times, until we came to exalt a life of mere renunciation as such, and to place it at the top of life's edifice as a goal, an end, and a lighthouse. It is true the whole nation never practised it; but that was because it was an impossibility. Many people certainly did adopt it, until we find that to-day a good part of the nation (sometimes estimated at one-fourth), having abandoned all productive economic work, engages itself in preaching the virtues of renunciation and in making people believe that next to becoming a *Sadhu* himself, the best thing for a man to do to avoid damnation is to feed and maintain *Sadhus*.

I am afraid what I have said of Hinduism is also more or less true of Mohammedanism and of Christianity. So deep-rooted is the sentiment that even iconoclastic reforming agencies like the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj and the Vivekananda Mission among the Hindus often drift in the same direction. Their hymns, songs and prayers are still brimful of that spirit. At the time when English education was introduced in India, this fatal

tendency towards the negation of life was a substantial part of the national character. We may defend our respective religions against the charge of having taught this negation, but we cannot with any honesty deny the prevalence of this spirit to an alarming extent among our people. Nor can we conceal that, more or less, our literature is full of this tendency. We may call it an addition of degenerate times, but there it is. No one reading this literature can evade the subtle influence of this all-pervading tendency. Our Epics are the most human documents we possess, yet even they are not free from this spirit.

Now it must be admitted that the present awakening, the protest against this tendency, owes its origin to foreign education, however godless it may have been. Sometimes I feel thankful for its very godlessness. But for this education there might have been no awakening, or, to be more accurate, the awakening might have been indefinitely delayed. To my mind the first need of India is the absolute destruction of this tendency towards the negation of life. It is the fundamental basis of our whole national weakness. Christianity too has this tendency ; but if the Christian nations had adhered to true Christianity, they would have made no progress at all. It is not Christianity that has produced the improvements in modern life. Progress in Europe has been made in spite of Christianity. The most important work before us, then, is to change the psychology of our people ; to create in them an interest in, or zest for, real life.

The idea of life generally prevailing in India is that it is a necessary evil. That life itself is a misery and a misfortune from which it is desirable to escape, is so deeply written in the souls of our people that it is not easy to efface it. What India needs is an earnest, widely spread,

persistent effort to teach and preach the gospel of life. That life is real, precious, earnest, invaluable,—to be prized, preserved, prolonged and enjoyed, is not so obvious to our people as it should be. Not that Indians do not value life—the vast bulk of them prefer mere living to honourable living.

Ancient Hindus seem to have had a clear idea of the amount of energy that had been expended in the evolution of man. It is so deep-rooted that every Hindu rustic will tell you what a privilege it is to be born a human being. So far he is all right. The trouble begins when he starts to consider the aim of life. As to that, he is being told day in and day out that supreme merit lies in killing desire, in escaping from the life of the senses so as to escape from the pain of rebirth. This necessarily leads him to shun life, to belittle it, and eventually to escape from it if he can. I admit that this is a perversion of the original doctrine, and that there is no sufficient sanction for it in the ancient scripture ; but this is the prevailing belief.

The first aim of a national system of education should be to destroy this belief.

The attempt to live in the past is not only futile but also foolish ; what we need to take care of is the future. If India of the future is to live a full, healthy and vigorous life commensurate with the importance which attaches to it by virtue of its human and other resources, it must come into closer touch with the rest of the world. If it is to occupy its rightful place among the nations of the globe, it must make the most profitable and the most effective use of its human potentialities.

Sanskrit is a perfect language, like Latin and Greek, having a great and valuable literature. They are sisters in this respect. But Europe and America are

discovering that for the ordinary boy who does not aim at devoting his life to literary or historical research, the study of ancient languages may be profitably replaced by the study of modern languages, and India will do the same ultimately.

Personally, I yield to none in my respect for the ancient Aryans. I am as proud as anyone else of their achievements. They advanced human knowledge to an extent that has made it possible for the moderns to proceed further. I am proud of their wisdom, their spirituality, their ethics and their literary achievements, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the world has progressed much further. And if knowledge is wisdom, then we must also presume that the world is wiser to-day than it was three thousand years ago.

This superior knowledge with its resultant wisdom is at present embodied in foreign languages. Every year, every month, nay, every day, in the year, it is making further progress, so much so that a book dealing with a scientific subject grows almost out of date in a year, unless a new edition is produced with up-to-date additions and corrections. No one who does not want to fall behind others can afford to neglect these sciences, which can only be studied effectively, for at least a number of years to come, in these foreign languages.

Besides, it should not be forgotten that modern scientific inventions, involving the use of steam and electricity have destroyed the barriers of time and space. No nation, however noble in its desires and ambitions, however spiritually inclined in its standards and values of life, can live a life of isolation even if it desires to do so. Intercourse with other nations for purposes of trade and commerce is no longer optional. It is compulsory. If India's trade and commerce are to be carried on by Indians and not by foreigners, and if the Indian

- people are to profit therefrom, it is necessary that our traders and commercial men should know as many modern languages as it is possible for them to learn first at school and then out of it. The bulk of the nation must be engaged in agriculture, or manufacture, or business. For all these pursuits a knowledge of the modern languages is almost a necessity. Under these circumstances to compel boys to devote the greater part of their time to the study of a complicated, difficult, ancient language like Sanskrit is such a flagrant misuse of energy that it is bound to reduce the general efficiency of the nation. It is high time the nation made up its mind that the study of Sanskrit, like other luxuries, was for the few and not for the many. It is necessary only for purposes of research and culture, and for enriching the vocabulary of the vernaculars. For the many the study of modern Indian and foreign languages must be insisted upon.

Descending from national literature to national methods of education, I must say at once that it will be a folly to revive the latter. They are out of date and antiquated. To adopt them will be to take a backward step.

The present school system is atrocious, and there is no doubt that the ancient system was in certain respects (mark, in certain respects only) much better. The system actually followed at the time of the introduction of British rule had lost the best features of the more ancient one. We are glad that the system then prevalent was rejected in favour of the Western school system.

The subject is so vast and so complicated that it is impossible to discuss it at any length here, but one cannot make oneself fully intelligible without making some more observations on it.

The ancient system which emphasized the personal relationship of the *Guru* and the *Chela* was good in certain

respects but harmful otherwise. The personal relationship supplied the human element which is now missing. This was a guarantee of greater attention being paid to the formation of habits which constitute character. On the other hand, it had a tendency towards enslaving the pupil's mind. The aim of education should be to qualify the educated man to think and act for himself with a due sense of responsibility towards society. Did the ancient system achieve this ? In my judgment, it could not. The very oath administered to the *Brahmachari* and the benediction invoked by the *Guru*, if properly analysed, will show that the ideal was to reproduce the *Guru* in the person of the *Chela*. The aim of every parent and every teacher should be to enable their children and pupils to be greater and better persons than they are themselves. I shall be glad to be corrected if I am mistaken in this belief. But the discipline enforced was too strict, too mechanical, and too empirical. The religion taught was too formal, rigid, and narrow. A disproportionate amount of time was devoted to the memorizing of rules of grammar and texts. It seems that the relations between the teacher and the pupil were possibly freer in the times of the *Upanishads* than in the period of the Codes. The system inculcated in the Codes is unduly strict.

But it was not peculiar to India. The Arabs, the Greeks, and the Romans also had similar systems.

The fact that in spite of this drawback, the Hindu, the Greek, the Roman, the Arab and the Catholic Christian institutions of mediæval Europe produced so many eminent scholars, philosophers and jurists, is no proof of their excellence. This only establishes the capacity of the human mind to transcend its environment and to rise above the limitations imposed on it by authority, be the authority that of the parent, the *Guru*, or the State.

I am extremely doubtful if the system of education advocated in the Codes was ever followed universally. I have reason to think that it was mainly devised for the children of the Brahmins. Be that as it may, I have no doubt that it is impossible to re-introduce it in India to-day. I am also positive that it is detrimental to the sort of character we want to develop, nay, which we must develop, in our boys and girls, if we are to keep pace with the rest of the world, in its onward march. Our boys and girls must not be brought up in hot-houses. They should be brought up in the midst of the society of which they are to be members. They should form habits and learn manners which will enable them to rise to every emergency. They should learn to overcome temptations and not to shun them. The world is full of temptation. But it is also a place for enjoyment, provided one does not injure oneself and others through it. So long as one is loyal to the society in which one's lot has been cast and towards which one has social obligations, one commits no sin by taking to the pleasures of life in a moderate degree.

Boys and girls must learn their social obligations when in their teens. To segregate them at such a time is to deprive them of the greatest and best opportunity of their lives. The idea of having schools and colleges and universities in localities far away from the bustle of city life and from the temptations incidental to it, is an old idea which is being abandoned by the best educational thinkers of the world. The new idea is to let boys and girls be surrounded by the conditions of life in which they have to move and which they will have to meet in later life. To let boys and girls grow in isolation, ignorant of the conditions of actual life, innocent of its social amenities, with no experience of the sudden demands and emergencies of group life, is to deprive them of the most valuable element of

their education. The aim of education is to fit men and women for the battle of life ; we do not want to convert them into anchorites and ascetics. Boys and girls of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow. From among them must come our statesmen, administrators, generals, inventors, captains of industry and manufacturers, as much as our philosophers, thinkers and teachers. Even sound thinking, to be useful for practical purposes, must be based on a full knowledge of the different phases of life. All life is social. We are beginning to realize that the best social thinkers of the world have been those who were brought up in the full blaze of the social conditions of their time and who had personal experience of how men in general lived, and how they acted and reacted on one another.

In my judgment, it is not a sound idea to make an anchorite of a boy or a girl. Boys and girls should have every opportunity of seeing life, experiencing its shocks and reactions, and of getting out of the holes in which their animal instincts and their youthful impulses put them. Boys brought up in isolation, and girls brought up behind the *Purdah*, make very poor men and women. Often they have been seen succumbing to the first temptation they came across. They wreck their lives from want of experience and want of nerve. I am speaking from actual experience. Not that men educated in ordinary schools and colleges are always better, but at least others have not shown any superiority in meeting situations which arise from being thrown into social conditions to which they were strangers before. My experience justifies me in saying that the latter go to greater extremes in laxity of character and looseness of behaviour. They lack the power of adjustment.

It is my desire to impress upon my countrymen, with all

the earnestness I possess and with all the emphasis I can lay, the supreme necessity of giving up the antiquated idea of bringing up boys and girls in an atmosphere of isolation. Boys and girls should be treated as comrades, rather than as dependants, inferiors and subordinates. We should extend to them our fullest confidence and encourage absolute frankness in them. Instead of keeping the sexes separate, we should bring them together. In my judgment greater harm is done by keeping them apart. I know I am treading on delicate ground. Prejudice and sentiment, accumulated during centuries of circumscribed life, are all against me. The change will come by degrees. But come it must and come it will.

It will be so much waste of opportunity not to profit by the experience of other peoples. Our ideas of morality and decency must undergo change. Our boys and girls must grow in an atmosphere of frankness, freedom and mutual confidence. We must do away with suspicion and distrust. It breeds hypocrisy, sycophancy and disease. Teachers and *Gurus* of India must in future learn to set aside the tone of command and authority to which they have hitherto been accustomed. Boys and girls are not clay in their hands to be moulded into patterns of their choice. That was a stupid idea if ever it existed. They are living beings, products of nature, heredity and environments. They throb with the same impulses and desires and ideas as we do. These impulses and desires require sane guidance. They cannot be regulated by mere authority, or mainly by authority, without injury to their manhood and womanhood. We command the youth to do things, of the righteousness and value of which they have not been convinced. The result is a habit of slavish submission to authority. I recognize that we cannot perhaps eliminate the element of command altogether

from the education and upbringing of boys and girls. They must, sometimes, be protected from themselves. But the command should be the last step, taken with reluctance and out of a sense of unavoidableness which comes from having otherwise failed to arouse an intelligent understanding in the child.

Parents and teachers must learn to respect the child. No Japanese ever strikes a child, yet Japanese children are models of reasonableness. The Japanese maintain a commendable attitude towards their children. They treat the children as their equals and always address them as such. They never criticise them harshly. The use of the rod is absolutely unknown in Japanese homes. Harsh language or expression of anger against children is very rare. The Japanese code of life is very strict in certain respects. It exacts strict obedience and enforces strict discipline. Japanese soldiers have earned a name for their high sense of duty and readiness for self-sacrifice, but these come out of a traditional love for their country and its sovereign, rather than from fear of any penalties in childhood. In short, the system that stresses the authority of the teacher or the parent, which is based on a suspicion of human nature and human tendencies, which is distrustful of childhood and youth, which is openly out for control and discipline, which favours empirical methods of pedagogy, which has no respect for the instincts of the boy and the girl, is not an ideal system for the production of the self-reliant, assertive and dynamic type of men and women that new India wants. I come to the conclusion, therefore, that a widespread revival of the ancient or mediæval system of education is unthinkable. It will take us centuries back, and I am sure that the country will not adopt it. But I know that there are groups of people in India who are in love

with it. They are sometimes carried away by a partial praise of certain features of the system by eminent foreigners and educationists. A system may be "fascinating," without being sound. It may be highly interesting as an experiment. It may be good for governmental purposes, yet harmful from the citizen's point of view. It may be good for producing certain types, but harmful if adopted for the nation as a whole. I would beg of my countrymen not to be carried off their feet by the praises which foreigners sometimes bestow on our literature and on our system of education. Some of them do so out of sheer disgust with their own modes of life. They do not wait to make proper comparisons, but rush from one extreme to another ; others only mean to pay a generous compliment. Some perhaps mean mischief. We should not be affected either by their praise or by their condemnation. We are in a critical period of our civilization, and it behoves us to see things in their true perspective, before laying down policies and making plans for the uplifting of the nation. What is required is a sober study of the situation.

—*The Problem of National Education in India*

MAHADEV GOVINDA RANADE*

BY GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

Mr. Ranade had great talents, and they were joined to a prodigious amount of industry, and a singular depth of earnest conviction. And for thirty-five years, this most remarkable man read, and thought, and wrote, and spoke, and worked incessantly, almost without a day's break or holiday. The material, therefore, on which one may base one's address on Mr. Ranade, is bound to bewilder and overwhelm by its very immensity. Indeed it seems to me to be an easier matter to deliver a series of a dozen addresses on the different aspects of Mr. Ranade's life and life-work, than to attempt a general discourse such as I am expected to deliver this afternoon. Thus we might speak of Mr. Ranade as a man—one of the saintliest men of our time—one, contact with whom was elevating and holy ; or we might speak of him as a patriot, or as a reformer, or we might speak of him as a scholar or as a teacher, or again as a worker, I believe, the greatest worker of our time. We might thus have a dozen different discourses, and yet not exhaust our subject. But a general address touching on all these sides of Mr. Ranade's work, and yet avoiding the appearance of mere commonplace observations, is, in my opinion, a most difficult task.

The first thing that struck any one who came in contact with Mr. Ranade, as underlying all his marvellous

**Speech delivered at the Hindu Union Club, Bombay, in 1903 on the second anniversary of Mr. Ranade's death.*

personality, was his pure, fervent and profound patriotism. In all my experience, I have met only one other so utterly absorbed, day and night, in thoughts of his country and of her welfare—and that is Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji. To him India's past was a matter of great, of legitimate pride ; but even more than the past, his thoughts were with the present and the future, and this was at the root of his matchless and astonishing activity in different fields of reform. His one aspiration through life was that India should be roused from the lethargy of centuries, so that she might become a great and living nation, responsive to truth and justice, and self-respect, responsive to all the claims of man's higher nature, animated by lofty ideals, and undertaking great national tasks.

And it was this belief, ardent and passionate, which inspired all Mr. Ranade's activity in the field of reform. It was not merely love of truth, or impatience of evil that made a reformer of Mr. Ranade—these, of course, were there, but Mr. Ranade was by nature far too gentle and forbearing to cause pain to others by an aggressive attitude towards their religious beliefs or social practices, if that pain could by any means be avoided. There have been reformers—and great reformers—in the history of the world and of India too, who have preached reform and braved persecution for the sake of truth and of conscience, because they heard a Higher Voice urging them to proclaim that truth at all hazards. I think such men stand on a pedestal all their own—the highest on which man can stand. Mr. Ranade's platform was not this—he preached reform, not merely because his conscience urged him to do so, but also because his intellect was satisfied that without reform there was no hope for us as a nation. Men who preach truth for its own sake live really for all humanity, though their words are addressed to the

people of a particular time and place. Mr. Ranade was content to live and work for his country only, and though he was a careful student of the history and institutions of other people, he studied them mainly to derive lessons from them for the guidance of his own countrymen.

I think this essential difference between Mr. Ranade and other great reformers has to be clearly grasped in order to understand the true character of his work and teachings. Thus Raja Ram Mohan Roy took up his stand against idolatry, because to his mind the worship of idols was wrong in itself, was against truth, and as such called for his denunciation. Mr. Ranade, too, spoke against idolatry, but it was mainly because it gave rise to low and grovelling superstitions, which impeded the progress of the nation towards a higher stage of moral and religious life. I want you to note this point, because it explains much in Mr. Ranade's conduct which sometimes puzzled his friends.

The next thing in Mr. Ranade that struck us was that he was the most profound thinker among the Indians of our time, with a mind remarkably well balanced and fitted for taking comprehensive views of things, and a great sense of justice and proportion. He was never in a hurry to draw conclusions, always seeking to look beneath the surface and trace results and growths to their hidden causes. His views were based on wide reading and observation, and were the result of mature reflection, and when once formed, they were urged upon the attention of his countrymen with a force and persistence which could only come of deep and earnest conviction. Again, his comprehensive mind ranged over the entire field of national work, and perceived the necessity of a due co-ordination between different activities—and this made him equally keen for reform in all directions—equally interested in all

movements—whether they were for the removal of political disabilities and the redressing of administrative grievances, or combating the evils of female ignorance and early maternity and righting the wrongs of widows and the depressed classes, or spreading a correct knowledge of the economic situation of the country, or purifying worship and making it simpler and more spiritual. But while recognizing the necessity of all these reforms, he realized that, above all, it was necessary for the individual man to be renovated in spirit, so that his springs of action might be purer, his ideals nobler, and his practical life courageous and devoted to worthy ends. His ideas on these subjects he preached with great courage, earnestness, and persistence, but never were they marred by any extravagance of thought or speech. And his convictions were never disturbed by any amount of personal wrong or injustice.

Another striking characteristic of Mr. Ranade was his great faith in work. One is filled with a feeling of wonder and awe, as one contemplates the amount of work which this great man did during his life—his mighty brain incessantly engaged in acquiring knowledge and in imparting it with an enthusiasm and an energy of purpose rarely witnessed in this land. Not only was his capacity for work phenomenal, his delight in it was so keen—he almost seemed to revel in it. In it he lived and moved and had his being. Apathy, he always said, was our greatest curse in these days. Wrong opinions he could stand ; mis-directed activity he could stand ; but apathy filled him with deep sadness—that he found harder to overcome. He himself approached almost all work with a religious sense of responsibility. Just think of how much work he was able to get through during his life ! His official duties throughout were heavy enough ; but they did not come in the way of his doing for the country more work in various

fields than half a dozen men could have together done. The range of subjects that interested him was wide—philosophy, theology, sociology, history, politics, economics—all seemed to interest him equally. His reading in respect of them was vast, and he tried, as far as possible, to keep himself in regard to them abreast of the times. Then in politics it is well known that, for nearly a quarter of a century, he was the guiding spirit of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. All the best work of the Sabha, in its palmy days, either came from his hands direct, or else had to pass through them. Under his guidance, the Sabha had attained the first position among the political associations of the country, and its representations, for a number of years, had admittedly far more weight with Government than those of any other Indian organization. In the field of social reform, his activity was boundless, almost from the day he left college to the hour of his death. Constantly writing, speaking, discussing, advising, helping, he took a leading part in every reform movement of his time. Of the Social Conference, he was the father and founder, working for it with a faith that was a sight for gods and men. His interest in religious reform was also deep and continuous, and I have never heard anything richer than some of his sermons. He was a profound thinker, and a frequent writer on economic subjects, and his studies in Indian Political Economy are a valuable guide to those students who wish to apply their knowledge of Political Economy to the practical conditions of India. He was one of the principal organizers of the Industrial Conference that used to meet in Poona for some years, and of the Industrial Exhibition that was held during the time of Lord Reay. And most of the industrial and commercial undertakings that have sprung up in Poona during the last twenty years owe a great deal to his inspiration, advice, or assistance. He has left us a

History of the Mahrattas, though unfortunately it is incomplete. While in Bombay, he used to take a leading part in the affairs of the University. In addition to all these activities, Mr. Ranade carried on a voluminous correspondence with numerous friends and followers all over India. For a number of years, he received and replied to over twenty letters a day, and these concerned a wide variety of subjects, from petty matters of mere domestic interest to high questions of State policy. He was in touch with every earnest worker throughout India—his heart rejoiced when he met an earnest worker—he noted such a man with unerring judgment, and kept himself in communication with him ever after. But it was not merely the amount of work that he did, which excited our admiration. The spirit in which he did it was, if anything, even more wonderful.

Speakers and writers have often remarked on Mr. Ranade's robust optimism, which they have regarded as a part of his mental constitution. No doubt, to a certain extent, it was so. He had a temperament which was essentially hopeful. It was this which made him note and gather together for use even the smallest signs of progress visible in any part of India. To a certain extent also, his optimism sprang from the fact that his horizon was wider than that of others—he saw as from a mountain-top, when others could see only from where they stood on the plain below. But it always appeared to me that Mr. Ranade's great optimism was mainly the result of his being so magnificent a worker. It is generally those who do not work—who do not realize the dignity and the power of work—that give themselves up to preaching the gospel of despair. Mr. Ranade was profoundly convinced that if only our people worked earnestly, their future was in their own hands. Work was to him the one condition of national

elevation, and he having fulfilled it so gloriously in his own case, it was not possible for his mind to be weighed down by despondency.

For himself, Mr. Ranade had clearly realized that patient and long-sustained work was necessary before any appreciable results could be achieved. A remark of his made to me in, I believe, 1891, has firmly fixed itself in my memory. In that year there was severe scarcity in the districts of Sholapur and Bijapur. The Sarvajanik Sabha, of which I was then Secretary, had collected a large amount of information about the condition of these districts, and a representation on the subject was in due course submitted to Government. It was a memorial in the preparation of which we had spent considerable labour and thought. Government, however, sent us a reply of only two lines, just saying that they had noted the contents of our letter. I was greatly disappointed when we received this reply, and the next day, joining Mr. Ranade in his evening walk, I asked him : “What is the good of taking all this trouble and submitting memorials, if Government don’t care to say anything more than that they have noted the contents of our letters ?” He replied : “You don’t realize our place in the history of our country. These memorials are nominally addressed to Government ; in reality they are addressed to the people, so that they may learn how to think about these matters. This work must be done for many years, without expecting any other result, because politics of this kind is altogether new in this land. Besides, if Government note the contents of what we say, even that is something.”

I have so far spoken of Mr. Ranade’s comprehensive intellect, the balance of his mind, his patriotism and his great passion for work. I will add a word or two about the nobility of his nature—his saintly disposition, which, even

more than his great intellectual gifts, won for him the devoted admiration and attachment of large numbers of his countrymen throughout India. It is no exaggeration to say that younger men who came in personal contact with him felt as in a holy presence, not only uttering 'nothing base' but afraid even of thinking unworthy thoughts, while in his company. The only other man who has exercised a similar influence on me is Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji. Among Mr. Ranade's great qualities, one of the most prominent was his utter, absolute unselfishness. As I have already told you, he was incessantly working in several fields, but never did he seek the least recognition, never did he think of his getting or not getting credit for this or that. Indeed, nothing pleased him more than to do his work—not only political but also almost of every other kind—from behind somebody else. His great anxiety was to get more and more men to be interested in and associated with the work. I do not think anybody ever heard Mr. Ranade say : "I did this, I did that." It was as though the first person singular did not exist in his vocabulary. The humility with which he sought to discipline himself almost till the last day of his life was another of his great qualities. By nature he was very sensitive, feeling keenly injustice or meanness in any shape or form ; but his constant effort to discipline himself enabled him to preserve his calmness under the most trying circumstances. The normal state of his mind was indeed one of quiet cheerfulness, arising from a consciousness of work well done, and from humble faith in the purpose of Providence. But even when he was seriously displeased with anything, or disappointed with any one, or suffered inwardly owing to other causes, no one, who did not know him intimately, could detect any trace of that suffering on his face. And never did any one—not even those who stood nearest to him—hear him

utter a word of complaint against those who might have done him personal injury. He insisted on having all attacks on him in newspapers carefully read out to him. He was constantly before the public in one capacity or another, and his views therefore came in for a good deal of criticism—friendly and unfriendly—almost from day to day. The appreciative notices that appeared he did not always read through. I know, because I sometimes had to read the papers to him—he rarely read them himself, his sight being defective. But all unfriendly criticism he made a point of hearing. He wanted to know if there was any idea therein that he could accept. And in any case, even if there was pain in hearing all that was said, that pain itself had its disciplinary value. One more great quality of his I would like to mention on this occasion, and that was his readiness to help all who sought his help—and especially those who were weak and oppressed. He was accessible to all—even the humblest—at all hours of the day. No one ever wrote to him without receiving a reply. He listened patiently to every one, whether he was able to help or not. This indeed was to him a part of his practical religion.

I think that for about thirty years he represented our highest thought and our highest aspiration, and it will be long before we shall have another like him in our midst. You remember how we wept for him when he died. Never before had such universal grief been witnessed in this land. It was as though a mighty wave of sorrow swept over the whole country, and every one—high and low, rich and poor—was equally touched by it. But our duty towards Mr. Ranade is surely not done by merely mourning his loss. The message of his life must be recognised by us, especially by the younger generations, as sacred and binding. The principles for which he laboured all his life—equality for all, and a recognition of the essential dignity

of man as man—are bound to triumph in the end, no matter how dark the outlook occasionally may be. But we can all of us strive to hasten that triumph, and herein lies the true dignity of our life : “ Work and sacrifice for the Motherland.” This is the message which Mr. Ranade has left us.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

1. I must begin with an experience which was equally joyful and revealing. One day thirteen years ago I was far away in Natal, opening a school-house which our poor countrymen had built for themselves with no aid from the Government of the country. An old man welcomed me in a Tamil speech. He then recited a Sanskrit *sloka*, crudely no doubt and incorrectly, but so as to thrill the audience, who listened with reverent awe, I no less than they.

2. The *sloka* is by a master and has a master's ease and lucidity. Still in these days when Sanskrit is not honoured in its own home as it should be, it will not be amiss to give a translation:—

Learning adds to the brightness of one's countenance.

Learning is wealth secured beyond all risk.

Learning is the key to prosperity, renown and bliss.

Learning is a teacher above all teachers.

When one goes abroad, learning is an unfailing companion.

Learning is a divinity without a peer. It is to learning that kings love to do honour, not to mere pelf. Why, a person devoid of learning is no better than a beast.

You see the poet prizes knowledge not for the material gains it may bring, but because it ennobles and elevates the soul above the grossness of the earth. And I have no doubt that Indians in South Africa, though they have gone there for the bare means of subsistence which

their motherland denied them, perceive vividly the high purpose of learning and cherish it with pious longing. To think that in this land where scholarship and scholars have always been objects of veneration, we should now hear liberal education derided and denounced! And forsooth, because many well-qualified men are without employment. Is the only or main purpose of learning the attainment of a living? Is it suggested that unemployment would be more endurable when associated with nescience than when associated with enlightenment? One actually hears the asseveration from persons apparently sane that high education unfits one for the world's work. And some who wield authority hold that the poorer classes are wronged by the spending of public revenues on colleges and similar centres of learning. That I regard as one of the sinister portents of the time. The liberal professions, the public services, social and economic uplift, unofficial life that keeps government straight by criticism and direction and discharges the many functions that government cannot touch, all these require brains that have received the best training that academies can give. Start high-grade technical and vocational institutions by all means. But start them well and with guarantees of efficiency secured by adequate finance. We have always demanded such institutions. But let us not delude ourselves with the hope that they will cure unemployment. Not improbably their graduates too will have to encounter enforced idleness, and in their case the evil will be more lamentable, not less, because of the fewer remedies that are open. Unemployment is a most acute and distressing malady, and we are bound to devise measures to relieve it. But the measures must be calculated to achieve the end. Let us not in our vexation shut up colleges and schools. The undeveloped faculties, idle brains, and undirected energies

of the young will become a danger to the community, a hundred times more difficult than the present unemployment. Not until industries and manufactures have been established on a large scale, and economic prosperity assured to coming generations, shall we be within sight of a sufficiency of jobs for our sons and daughters.

The prevailing ^{mental agitation; disturbance} distemper of the young assumes strange ^{challenge} forms, some alarming ones too. One of these is the powerful fascination exercised on their imagination by the triumphant career of the dictators who hold sway over a great part of the civilized earth. That they ^(dictators) abhor and destroy all forms of popular government, that they hold freedom in utter contempt, that they ruthlessly suppress even the semblance of opposition and dissent, that they are bent on the re-establishment of the tyranny of tribe and race and colour which mankind has, after infinite travail, nearly outgrown—these ^{S. Africa, Negro in U.S.A.} and similar indictments do not weigh much in the scales of immature judgment against the glamour of their ^(dictators) material success. Have they not raised their people from ^{mind} the slough of despond? Have they not restored, maybe by force of arms, a sense of self-respect to their nation? Have they not enhanced the efficiency of their subjects, found them work and food, and in a word made their lives worth living? These achievements, however won, never fail to secure homage. Man has ever bowed the knee to power, and it does not take him long—alas, contemporary events make it too plain,—to forget the dignity of the human soul, to pull down the images of liberty and mercy, and to instal in their places the hideous symbols of despotism and cruelty. We all want great things done for us in India, don't we? Only we want them done in proper ways, justly not harshly, slowly if need be but surely. What is done in a hurry is undone in a hurry

1. Your democracy and your freedom, say these ^{democracy: the} young ^{not their merit but} sages, are fleeting and they change continually; they aren't worth the labour of pursuit and the care of custody. But change or progress is ⁽¹⁾ their merit and their attraction. Justice ⁽²⁾ enlarges its bounds. Freedom ⁽³⁾ extends its joys to new groups of men and women. Education ⁽⁴⁾ lends grace to countless lives in every generation. Citizenship was a tiny and precarious bundle of rights a century ago; it is now a precious cargo, which has cost many tears, many years of manly struggle, many exemplary and heroic lives. But what a heritage! It has inspired the noblest and most stirring deeds; the finest, grandest poems are in its praise.

At this point I would like to ferret and drive out of the temple of freedom some of the foul heresies which infest it. But it is an ^{hateful} odious task and would take too long a time. One, ^{however} however, I must belabour now and slay, if I can. (That the heretics are our own people and that the heresiarch is among the Cardinals are no grounds for quarter. The belief is general that civic rights are in danger only under alien rule, and that the champion of the liberties of the citizen may go to sleep while the reins of administration are in the hands of our kindred. All history testifies to the contrary; in fact in some respects fraternal enmity is capable of more callous crimes than the enmity of remote cousins. English law reports tell on every page of the brave stand made by judges against the tyranny of the King's officers and their encroachments on the private citizen's rights. Sharply in the laws of Britain and America, less sharply in those of France, the powers of the Executive are demarcated from those of the Judiciary. "Good government is no substitute for self-government," was said at first of a national government. Even in Ramarajya a ^(because he lacked them) loyal subject might ask for the elementary rights of citizen-

ship. [↑] Self-righteousness is a besetting ^{enslaving} sin of popular government all the world over, the more dangerous when it rests on a large majority. From the dawn of society, power over men and things has been a notoriously corrupting influence; human ingenuity has been taxed to the limit of its resources to devise ^{constitutional} checks on its exercise; sages and ^{political} philosophers have exhausted their wisdom in composing texts and homilies to the same end; and the ^{sermons} story goes on, still and will go on for ever. Power of any kind, moral or material, twists human nature out of its shape, and the most conscientious rulers, besides severely watching themselves, learn to submit patiently and cheerfully to outside criticism and audit, which it is likewise their endeavour to make as independent as possible. ^{Eternal vigilance, a condition}

It is the ^{refined} distilled wisdom of ages of bitter experience that is enshrined in the saying, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Eternal vigilance? Yes; but it must be also enlightened vigilance. In a totalitarian regime the code of conduct is simple—obedience, submission, surrender. Hard to practise, it is true, but easy to understand. Mere 'subjecthood', scarcely distinguishable from slavery, needs no education. In the early days of man's liberation from political servitude, you had to have a certain stake in the country, you had to be of a certain age, and perhaps too you had to be literate, before you could acquire the vote, and other attributes of citizenship. Not ^{difficult} onerous qualifications to be sure, but they greatly restricted the franchise. Nowadays the only real qualification required is a certain age. That of residence is so easy as to be nominal. To get the vote, however, is not the same thing as to use it properly, and it is with this problem we are here concerned. Most people ^{with a wrong} imagine that citizenship is a grand name for a trifle, that it is nothing more than casting a vote once in five years for an unknown candidate as one

may be ^{flattered} cajoled, ^{forced, blackmailed} bullied or bribed into doing. Many don't care to be bothered even so far. Some persons of high quality, not an inconsiderable number even in advanced democracies, refuse to ^{cast their votes} have anything to do with the periodical elections, being in a moral sense nauseated with the intrigues and ^{intrigue, clique} cabals, the falsehoods and deceptions, the ^{peculations} ^{misuse of trust & money} malversations, the feuds and vendettas ^{blood-feud} which degrade public life and poison the very springs of human character. Here is scope for reform for generations of preachers and apostles, for organizations of resolute and fearless champions of public morals. If citizenship is not to be a delusion and a ^{snare} ^{you walk} ^{trap}, a modern invention of Satan for the corruption of our souls, we have to understand it in its bearing on our lives and on our society, and exercise it in a spirit of dutifulness and awe of the consequences. The range of knowledge that ^{we must} ^(for good & evil) we have to traverse is formidable, including everything which is not strictly scientific, mathematical or antiquarian. The full citizen of to-day has (in theory) the responsibility, shared no doubt with thousands of others, for the happiness and welfare of the community. In this sense he is a king in miniature, for he can make and unmake governments and take a hand, though he hardly remembers it, in moulding their character and conduct. Just think roughly of the enormous ^{sweep} of the curriculum that would have to be framed, if we projected ^{to} a seminary for instruction in citizenship. Don't be frightened. I shan't drag you through any such agony. Nor is it my intention to make a ^{bogey} ^{clank} of citizenship. Life is one large whole, and no part of it can be studied or pursued in rigid isolation from the rest. "To each man according to his capacity and inclination." I served a hard and long apprenticeship for the duties of citizenship and don't consider myself half enough equipped; but I

was a 'professional' politician, not, I hope, in the sinister^{intended} sense in which the word was often applied to me. But I don't regard my energy as misdirected this evening if I impress on my hearers that civics is neither a light nor a mean study, that it is not an occupation for the amateur or the mere dilettante, but that it has the stuff which ennobles our lives and at the same time raises the moral stature of mankind. Do not enter here because you want some vacant hours filled up, because you want volume^{weight} for your puny figure, because you want to have your neighbour by the throat, because you want your broken fortune repaired.

Some of you who hear me may think I am^{Expert would} ^{general education} somewhat mixed up in my ideas. It may appear that, in exalting citizenship as I do, I ignore the distinction between its grades; that, for instance, the profound knowledge of affairs which is requisite for a Cabinet Minister is a luxury for a mere voter who has no high ambition. It is true the text-books say so, more or less bluntly. The rural labourer in England who has received no more than the modicum^{minimum} of compulsory education knows little of the constitution and the laws but is told only of two or three names among which he has to make a choice. Once in a way the question of a new duty or the abolition of the Lords may emerge. On these issues, extremely simplified for his benefit, his thinking is apt to be muddled, and he votes in large measure in ignorance of the weighty policies that he may be helping to settle, in however small a degree. (It is even worse in India. The ignorance and superstition of the average voter place him at the mercy of the unscrupulous wire-puller, and the colour of the ticket and the totem^{symbol} printed on it are only additional hindrances between his intelligence and the State problems that he is supposed to pronounce upon. This

is the primary fact of all election politics; other factors like intimidation, colossal misrepresentation and bribery add themselves to the welter in such ^{misleading confusion} wise as to upset all calculations and make what are dignified with the name of appeals to the electorate gigantic ^{games of chance} gambles in which all connection between the merits of the issues at stake and the actual vote is completely obliterated. Now judge what absurdly ^{thin} tenuous justification can be pleaded for the adoption of particular policies or measures.

If this is the case in lands where modern democracy takes its rise, we seem in India to carry the fiction to greater lengths. I should be trespassing if I touched on controversial politics. But it is common ground that popular elections have degenerated into Augean stables. We may not expect a Hercules any more. It is possible—there is no harm in stretching one's fancy—that the wit of man may invent some method of ascertaining the general will more trustworthy and less liable to abuse than a general election. And is it allowable to hope that that invention may be made in India for the purification of our democratic processes?

In totalitarian countries, as one may expect, care is taken to mould young minds to the required pattern, which is akin to that of the slave. Education therefore is a close monopoly of government and has one and only one set of clear aims. Britain is at the other extreme and has encouraged, perhaps to the point of danger, a great variety of private effort. On one point, however, even British educational thought has recently come to a definite agreement, viz., that all secondary education must have for one of its aims the development of a high ideal of citizenship. Some authors have laid down definite curricula for the purpose, and an exceedingly large number of good books are available, covering the whole

ground. In a radio broadcast I am not expected to do more than bring the subject to the notice of my audience, and may stimulate a little thought, not give it point or direction. In India colleges have to do much of the higher work done in secondary schools in Britain. My observations therefore have necessarily to apply to both grades of institutions.

o All the world over, it is now settled policy, though not rigorously practised in India, that the great professions of law, engineering, medicine, teaching, accountancy, and so on should be practised only by those who are examined and certified by duly appointed authorities to be competent to practise them. I have endeavoured to show that the kind and degree of knowledge required for the duties of citizenship or what may be called unofficial public life are very well comparable to those required for the regular professions. Ignorance, ^{quackery}charlatanry, hollow pretensions can do as much harm to society in the field of politics as in the other spheres. In fact, since great institutions and national affairs are concerned in this case, the evils will be on a larger scale and less susceptible to remedy.

Another comparison, very relevant in this context, must be borne in mind. The other professions are confined to the few that choose them. The service of the public is open to all, in fact in a sense obligatory on all. While therefore what is called professional education comes after general education, preparation for public life must take place along with general education and as part of it. Several questions of organization arise, which have not been sufficiently thrashed out. I would respectfully invite to them the attention of the Education Department and professional bodies. For instance, are the citizenship courses to be part of the obligatory or optional studies? Are students to be examined in them and required to

score a certain minimum of marks? Are diplomas to be given?

12. One suggestion of practical value may be ventured, though it may be considered far too premature by conservative-minded persons. Why not make a certificate or diploma of citizenship a necessary qualification for those that stand as candidates for municipal councils or houses of legislature? It is desirable to exclude ^{fools} ~~dolts~~ and ^{fools} ~~nincom-~~ poops from these responsible positions.

—*The Other Harmony.*

ECONOMIC *VERSUS* MORAL PROGRESS*

BY MAHATMA GANDHI

Does economic progress clash with real progress? By economic progress, I take it, we mean material advancement without limit, and by real progress we mean moral progress, which again is the same thing as progress of the permanent element in us. The subject may therefore be stated thus: Does not moral progress increase in the same proportion as material progress? I know that this is a wider proposition than the one before us. But I venture to think that we always mean the large one even when we lay down the smaller. For we know enough of science to realize that there is no such thing as perfect rest or repose in this visible universe of ours. If, therefore, material progress does not clash with moral progress, it must necessarily advance the latter. Nor can we be satisfied with the clumsy way in which sometimes those who cannot defend the large proposition put their case. They seem to be obsessed with the concrete case of thirty millions of Indians, stated by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter to be living on one meal a day. They say that, before we can think or talk of their moral welfare, we must satisfy their daily wants. With these, they say, material progress spells moral progress. And then is taken a sudden jump; what is true of thirty millions is true of the universe. They forget that hard cases make bad law. I need hardly say to you how ludicrously absurd this deduction would be. No one has ever suggested that grinding pauperism can

**Speech delivered at a meeting of the Muir Central College Economic Society, held at Allahabad on the 22nd December, 1916.*

lead to anything else than moral degradation. Every human being has a right to live and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. But for this very simple performance we need no assistance from economists or their laws.

'Take no thought for the morrow' is an injunction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world. In a well-ordered society the securing of one's livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world. Indeed, the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but the absence of starvation among its masses. The only statement that has to be examined is, whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress.

Now let us take a few illustrations. Rome suffered moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and perhaps most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna too fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockefellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality, but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive resistance as did the poor. The rich men's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer

home and show how possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth. I venture to think that the scriptures of the world are far safer and sounder treatises on laws of economics than many of the modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves this evening is not a new one. It was addressed to Jesus two thousand years ago. St. Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood. He is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about him. He is himself the greatest economist of his time. He succeeded in economising time and space—he transcended them. It is to him at his best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks; “Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him: Why callest thou me good? *there is none good but one, that is, God.* Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother. And he answered and said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from my youth. Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again, and saith unto them, Children, how hard is it for them, that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.” Here you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest

words. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do even to this day. To him they said as we say to-day: 'But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral.' So they state their case thus: "And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves, Who then can be saved? And Jesus looking upon them saith, With men *it is impossible*, but not with God: for with God all things are possible. Then Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee. And Jesus answered and said, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's. But he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life. But many *that are* first shall be last; and the last first." You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures, and I will not insult you by quoting, in support of the law stated by Jesus, passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages, passages even stronger, if possible, than the Biblical extracts I have drawn your attention to. Perhaps the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of the affirmative answer to the question before us are the lives of the greatest teachers of the world. Jesus, Mahomed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramkrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over, and moulded the character of, thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot.

I should not have laboured my point as I have done, if I did not believe that, in so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, we are going down hill in the path of progress. I hold that economic progress in the sense I have put it, is antagonistic to real progress. Hence the ancient ideal has been the limitation of activities promoting wealth. This does not put an end to all material ambition. We should still have, as we have always had, in our midst people who make the pursuit of wealth their aim in life. But we have always recognised that it is a fall from the ideal. It is a beautiful thing to know that the wealthiest among us have often felt that to have remained voluntarily poor would have been a higher state for them. That you cannot serve God and Mammon, is an economic truth of the highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations are to-day groaning under the heels of the monster god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in £. s. d. American wealth has become the standard. America is the envy of the other nations. I have heard many of our countrymen say that we will gain American wealth, but avoid American methods. I venture to suggest that such an attempt, if it were made, is foredoomed to failure. We cannot be 'wise, temperate and furious' in a moment. I would have our leaders teach us to be morally supreme in the world. This land of ours was once, we are told, the abode of the gods. It is not possible to conceive gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines, dragging numerous cars crowded with men who know not for the most part what they are after, who are often absent-minded, and whose tempers do not improve by being uncomfortably packed like sardines.

boxes and finding themselves in the midst of utter strangers, who would oust them if they could and whom they would, in their turn, oust similarly. I refer to these things because they are held to be symbolical of material progress. But they add not an atom to our happiness. This is what Wallace, the great scientist, has said as his deliberate judgment:—

“In the earliest records which have come down to us from the past, we find ample indications that general ethical considerations and conceptions, the accepted standard of morality, and the conduct resulting from these, were in no degree inferior to those which prevail to-day.”

In a series of chapters he then proceeds to examine the position of the English nation under the advance in wealth it has made. He says: “This rapid growth of wealth and increase of our power over Nature put too great a strain upon our crude civilization, on our superficial Christianity, and it was accompanied by various forms of social immorality almost as amazing and unprecedented.” He then shows how factories have risen on the corpses of men, women and children, how, as the country has rapidly advanced in riches, it has gone down in morality. He shows this by dealing with insanitation, life-destroying trades, adulteration, bribery and gambling. He shows how with the advance of wealth, justice has become immoral, deaths from alcoholism and suicide have increased, the average of premature births, and congenital defects has increased and prostitution has become an institution. He concluded his examination with these pregnant remarks:—

“The proceedings of the divorce courts show other aspects of the result of wealth and leisure, while a friend who had been a good deal in London society assured me that, both in country houses and in London, various

kinds of orgies were occasionally to be met with, which would hardly have been surpassed in the period of the most dissolute emperors. Of war, too, I need say nothing. It has always been more or less chronic since the rise of the Roman Empire ; but there is now undoubtedly a disinclination for war among all civilized peoples. Yet the vast burden of armaments, taken together with the most pious declarations in favour of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality as a guiding principle among the governing classes."

Under the British aegis we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilization, and our morals straight, i.e., if, instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our boast. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life!

FIRST EXPERIENCES IN ENGLAND

BY MAHATMA GANDHI

I passed the Matriculation Examination in 1887. It then used to be held at two centres, Ahmedabad and Bombay. The general poverty of the country naturally led Kathiawad students to prefer the nearer and the cheaper centre, and the poverty of my family likewise dictated to me the same choice. This was my first journey anywhere without a companion.

My elders wanted me to pursue my studies at college after the Matriculation. There was a college in Bhavnagar as well as in Bombay, and as the former was cheaper, I decided to go there and join the Samaldas College. I went, but found myself entirely at sea. Everything was difficult. I could not follow, let alone take interest in, the professor's lectures. It was no fault of theirs. The professors in that college were regarded as first-rate. But I was so raw. At the end of the first term, I returned home.

We had in Mavji Dave, who was a shrewd and learned Brahmin, an old friend and adviser of the family. He strongly advised my widowed mother to send me to England for three years so that I might become a barrister. He turned to me and asked: 'Would you not rather go to England than study here?' Nothing could have been more welcome to me. I was fighting shy of my difficult studies at College. So I jumped at the proposal and said that the sooner I was sent the better.

My elder brother was greatly exercised in his mind. How was he to find the wherewithal to send me? And

was it proper to trust a young man like me to go abroad alone?

My mother was still more sorely perplexed. She did not like the idea of parting from me. She had begun making minute inquiries. Someone had told her that young men got lost in England. Someone else had said that they took to meat; and yet another that they could not live there without liquor. 'How about all this?' she asked me. I said: 'Will you not trust me? I shall not lie to you. I swear that I shall not touch any of those things. If there were any such danger, would Joshiji let me go?'

'I can trust you' here in your natural surroundings,' she said. 'But how can I trust you in a distant land? I am dazed and know not what to do. I will ask Becharji Swami.'

Becharji Swami was originally a Modh Bania, but had now become a Jain monk. He too was a family adviser like Joshiji. He came to my help, and said: 'I shall get the boy solemnly to take the three vows, and then he can be allowed to go.' He administered the oath and I vowed not to touch wine, woman and meat. This done, my mother gave her permission.

The High School had a send-off in my honour. It was an uncommon thing for a young man of Rajkot to go to England. I had written out a few words of thanks. But I could scarcely stammer them out.

I sailed from Bombay on 4th September, 1888. I did not feel at all sea-sick. But as the days passed, I became nervous. I felt shy even speaking to the steward. I was quite unaccustomed to talking English, and except for Sjt. Mazmudar, all the other passengers in the second saloon seemed to be English. I could not speak to them. For I could rarely follow them when they came up to speak to me, and even when I understood them I could say nothing

in reply. I had to frame every sentence in my mind, before I could bring it out. I was innocent of the use of knives and forks and had not the courage to inquire which dishes on the menu were free of meat. I therefore never took my meals at table but always had them in my cabin, and they consisted principally of sweets and fruits which I had brought with me. Sjt. Mazmudar had no difficulty, and he mixed with everybody. He would move about freely on deck, while I hid myself in the cabin the whole day, only venturing up on deck when there were but few people. Sjt. Mazmudar kept pleading with me to associate with the passengers and to talk with them freely. He told me that lawyers should have a long tongue, and related to me his legal experiences. He advised me to take every possible opportunity of talking English, and not to mind making mistakes which were obviously unavoidable with a foreign tongue. But nothing could make me conquer my shyness.

An English passenger, taking kindly to me, drew me into conversation. He was older than I. He asked me what I ate, what I was, where I was going, why I was shy, and so on. He also advised me to come to table. He laughed at my insistence on abjuring meat, and said in a friendly way when we were in the Red Sea: 'It is all very well so far, but you will have to revise your decision in the Bay of Biscay. And it is so cold in England that one cannot possibly live there without meat.'

'But I have heard that people *can* live there without eating meat,' I said.

'Rest assured it is a fib,' said he. 'No one, to my knowledge, lives there, without being a meat-eater. Don't you see that I am not asking you to take liquor, though I do so? But I do think you should eat meat, for you cannot live without it.'

'I thank you for your kind advice, but I have solemnly promised to my mother not to touch meat, and therefore I cannot think of taking it. If it be found impossible to get on without it, I would far rather go back to India than eat meat in order to remain there.'

We entered the Bay of Biscay, but I did not feel the need either of meat or liquor.

We reached Southampton, as far as I remember, on a Saturday. On the boat I had worn a black suit, the white flannel one, which my friends had got me, having been kept especially for wearing when I landed. I had thought that white clothes would be the right thing when I stepped ashore, and therefore I did so in white flannels. Those were the last days of September, and I found I was the only person wearing such clothes. I left in charge of an agent all my kit, including the keys, seeing that many others also had done the same, and feeling I must follow suit.

I had four notes of introduction: to Dr. P. J. Mehta, to Sjt. Dalpatram Shukla, to Prince Ranjitsinhji and to Dadabhai Naoraji, the Grand Old Man. Someone on board had advised us to put up at the Victoria Hotel in London. Sjt. Mazmudar and I accordingly went there. The embarrassment of being the only person in white clothes was already too much for me. And when at the hotel I was told that I should not get my things from the agent the next day, it being a Sunday, I was exasperated.

Dr. Mehta, to whom I had wired from Southampton, called at about eight o'clock the same evening. He gave me a hearty greeting. He smiled at my being in flannels. As we were talking, I casually picked up his top-hat, and trying to see how smooth it was, passed my hand over it the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Dr. Mehta looked somewhat angrily at what I was doing and stopped me.

But the mischief was done. The incident was a warning for the future. This was my first lesson in European etiquette, into the details of which Dr. Mehta gently initiated me. 'Do not touch other people's things', he said. 'Do not ask questions as we usually do in India on first acquaintance; do not talk loudly; never address people as "sir" whilst speaking to them as we do in India; only servants and subordinates address their masters that way.' And so on and so forth. He also told me that it was very expensive to live in a hotel and recommended that I should live with a private family. We deferred consideration of the matter until Monday.

Sjt. Mazmudar and I found the hotel to be a trying affair. It was also very expensive. There was, however, a Sindhi fellow-passenger from Malta who had become friends with Sjt. Mazmudar, and as he was not a stranger to London, he offered to find rooms for us. We agreed, and on Monday, as soon as we got our baggage, we paid up our bills and went to the rooms rented for us by the Sindhi friend. I remember my hotel bill came to over £3, an amount which shocked me. And I had practically starved in spite of this heavy bill! For I could relish nothing. When I did not like one thing, I asked for another, but had to pay for both just the same. The fact is that all this while I had depended on the provisions which I had brought with me from Bombay.

I was very uneasy even in the new rooms. I would continually think of my home and country. My mother's love haunted me. At night the tears would stream down my cheeks, and home memories of all sorts made sleep out of the question. It was impossible to share my misery with anyone. And even if I could have done so, where was the use? I knew of nothing that would soothe me. Everything was strange—the people, their ways,

and even their dwellings. I was a complete novice in the matter of English etiquette, and continually had to be on my guard. There was the additional inconvenience of the vegetarian vow. Even the dishes that I could eat, I then thought tasteless and insipid. I thus found myself between Scylla and Charybdis. England I could not bear, but to return to India was not to be thought of. Now that I had come, I must finish the three years, said the inner voice.

Dr. Mehta went on Monday to the Victoria Hotel, expecting to find me there. He discovered that we had left, got our new address, and met me at our rooms. He inspected my room and its appointments and shook his head in disapproval. 'This place won't do,' he said. 'We come to England not so much for the purpose of bookish studies as for gaining experience of English life and customs. And for this you need to live with a family. But before you do so, I think you had better serve a period of apprenticeship with—. I will take you there.'

I gratefully accepted the suggestion and removed to the friend's rooms. He was all kindness and attention. He treated me as his own brother, initiated me into English ways and manners, and accustomed me to talking the language. My food, however, became a serious question. I could not relish boiled vegetables cooked without salt or condiments. The landlady was at a loss to know what to prepare for me. We had oatmeal porridge for breakfast which was fairly filling, but I always starved at lunch and dinner. The friend continually reasoned with me to eat meat, but I always pleaded my vow and then remained silent.

Day in and day out the friend would argue, but I had an eternal negative to face him with. The more he argued the more uncompromising I became. Daily I would pray

for God's protection and get it. Not that I had any idea of God. It was faith that was at work.

One day the friend began to read to me Bentham's *Theory of Utility*. I was at my wit's end. The language was too difficult for me to understand. He began to expound it. I said: 'Pray excuse me. These abstruse things are beyond me. I admit it may be necessary here to eat meat. But I cannot break my vow. I cannot argue about it. I am sure I cannot meet you in argument. But please give me up as foolish or obstinate. I appreciate your love for me and I know you to be my well-wisher. I also know that you are telling me again and again about this because you feel for me. But I am helpless. A vow is a vow. It cannot be broken.'

The friend looked at me in surprise. He closed the book and said: 'All right. I will not argue any more.' I was glad. He never discussed the subject again. But he did not cease to worry about me. He smoked and drank, but he never asked me to do so. In fact he asked me to abstain from both. His one anxiety was lest I might become very weak without meat, and thus be unable to feel at home in England.

That is how I served my apprenticeship for a month.

Meanwhile my friend had devised another way of winning me. His love for me led him to think, that if I persisted in my objections to meat-eating, I should not only develop a weak constitution, but should return to India an ignorant man because I should never in my aloofness reap the benefit of the English stay.

But I decided that I should put him at ease, that I should assure him that I would be clumsy no more, but try to become polished and make up for my vegetarianism by cultivating other accomplishments which fitted one for polite society. And for this purpose I undertook the all too impossible task of becoming an English gentleman.

The clothes after the Bombay cut that I was wearing were, I thought, unsuitable for English society, and I got new ones at a fashionable tailor's. I also went in for a silk hat. Not content with this, I wasted ten pounds on an evening suit made in Bond Street; and got my good and noble-hearted brother to send me a double watch-chain of gold. It was not considered quite correct to wear a ready-made tie and I learnt the art of tying one for myself. In India the mirror had been a luxury permitted on the days when the family barber gave me a shave. Here I wasted ten minutes every day before a large mirror watching myself arranging my tie and parting my hair in the correct fashion. My hair was by no means soft and every day it meant a regular struggle with the brush to keep it in position. Each time the hat was put on and off, the hand would automatically move towards the head to adjust the hair, not to mention the other civilized habit of the hand every now and then operating for the same purpose when sitting in polished society.

As if all this were not enough to make me look the thing, I directed my attention to other details that were supposed to go towards the making of an English gentleman. I had gathered that it would be the proper thing to take lessons in dancing, French and elocution. French was not only the language of neighbouring France, but it was the *lingua franca* of the Continent over which I had a desire to travel. I decided to take dancing lessons at a class and paid down £3 as fees for a term. I must have taken about six lessons in three weeks. But it was beyond me to achieve anything like rhythmic motion. I could not follow the piano and hence found it impossible to keep time. What then was I to do? The recluse in the fable kept a cat to keep off the rats, and then a cow to feed the cat with milk, and a man to keep the cow and so on. My

ambitions also grew like the family of the recluse. I thought I should learn to play the violin in order to cultivate an ear for Western music. So I invested £3 in a violin and something more in fees. I sought a third teacher to give me lessons in elocution and paid him a preliminary fee of a guinea. He recommended Bell's *Standard Elocutionist* as the text-book, which I purchased. And I began with a speech of Pitt's.

But Mr. Bell rang the bell of alarm in my ear and I awoke.

I had not to spend a lifetime in England, I said to myself. What then was the use of learning elocution? And how could dancing make a gentleman of me? The violin I could learn even in India. I was a student and ought to go on with my studies. I should qualify myself for the Bar. If my character made a gentleman of me, so much the better. Otherwise I should forgo the ambition.

These and similar thoughts possessed me, and I expressed them in a letter which I addressed to the elocution teacher, requesting him to excuse me from further lessons. I had taken only two or three. I wrote a similar letter to the dancing teacher, and went personally to the violin teacher with a request to dispose of the violin for any price it might fetch. She was friendly to me, so I told her how I had discovered that I was pursuing a false ideal. She encouraged me in the determination to make a complete change.

This infatuation must have lasted about three months. The punctiliousness in dress persisted for years. But henceforward I became a student.

Let no one imagine that my experience in dancing and the like marked a stage of indulgence in my life. The reader will have noticed that there was a purpose behind the chase. The transition was therefore easy.

As I kept strict watch over my way of living, I could see

that it was necessary to economize. I therefore decided to reduce my expenses by half. My accounts showed numerous items spent on fares. Again my living with a family meant the payment of a regular weekly bill.

So I decided to take rooms on my own account, instead of living any longer in a family and also to remove from place to place according to the work I had to do, thus gaining experience at the same time. The rooms were so selected as to enable me to reach the place of business on foot in half an hour, and so save fares. Before this I had always taken some kind of conveyance whenever I went anywhere and had to find extra time for walks. The new arrangement combined walks and economy, as it meant a saving of fares and gave me walks of eight or ten miles a day. It was mainly this habit of long walks that kept me practically free from illness throughout my stay in England and gave me a fairly strong body.

Thus I rented a suite of rooms; one for a sitting-room and another for a bedroom. This was the second stage. The third was yet to come.

These changes saved me half the expense. But how was I to utilize the time? I knew that Bar examinations did not require much study, and I therefore did not feel pressed for time. My weak English was a perpetual worry to me. I should, I thought, not only be called to the Bar, but have some literary degree as well. I inquired about the Oxford and Cambridge University courses, consulted a few friends, and found that if I elected to go to either of these places, that would mean greater expense and a much longer stay in England than I was prepared for. A friend suggested that if I really wanted to have the satisfaction of taking a difficult examination, I should pass the London Matriculation. It meant a good deal of labour and much addition to my stock of general knowledge, without any

extra expense worth the name. I welcomed the suggestion. But the syllabus frightened me. Latin and a modern language were compulsory! How was I to manage Latin? But the friend entered a strong plea for it; 'Latin is very valuable to lawyers. Knowledge of Latin is very useful in understanding law-books. And one paper in Roman Law is entirely in Latin. Besides, a knowledge of Latin means greater command over the English language.' The argument went home, and I decided to learn Latin, no matter how difficult it might be. French I had already begun; so I thought that should be the modern language. I joined a private Matriculation class. Examinations were held every six months, and I had only five months at my disposal. It was an almost impossible task for me. But the aspirant after being an English gentleman chose to convert himself into a serious student. I framed my own time-table to the minute; but neither my intelligence nor memory promised to enable me to tackle Latin and French besides other subjects within the given period. The result was that I failed in Latin. I was sorry but did not lose heart. I had acquired a taste for Latin, also I thought my French would be all the better for another trial and I would select a new subject in the science group. Chemistry, which was my subject in science, had no attraction for want of experiments. It was one of the compulsory subjects in India, and so I had selected it for the London Matriculation. This time, however, I chose Heat and Light instead of Chemistry. It was said to be easy and I found it to be so.

With my preparation for another trial, I made an effort to simplify my life still further. I felt that my way of living did not yet become the modest means of my family. The thought of my struggling brother, who nobly responded to my regular calls for monetary help, deeply moved me. I

saw that most of those who were spending from eight to fifteen pounds monthly had the advantage of scholarships. I had before me examples of much simpler living. I came across a fair number of poor students living more humbly than I. One of them was staying in slums in a room at two shillings a week and living on twopence worth of cocoa and bread for a meal from cheap Cocoa Rooms. It was far from me to think of emulating him, but I felt I could surely have one room instead of two and cook some of my meals at home. That would be a saving of four to five pounds each month. I also came across books on simple living. I gave up the suite of rooms and rented one instead, invested in a stove, and began cooking my breakfast at home. The process scarcely took me more than twenty minutes, for there was only oatmeal porridge to cook and water to boil for cocoa. I had lunch out and for dinner had bread and cocoa at home. Thus I managed to live on a shilling and threepence a day. This was also a period of intensive study. Plain living saved me plenty of time, and I passed my examination.

Let not the reader think that this living made my life by any means a dreary affair. On the contrary the change harmonized my inward and outward life. My life was now more truthful and my soul was full of joy.

Alterations in my way of living led to changes in my diet. I studied vegetarianism, subscribed to a weekly journal of the Vegetarian Society in England, joined the Society and soon found myself on its executive committee. I stopped taking sweets and condiments, also tea and coffee, and began to live largely on bread, cocoa and boiled vegetables. My experiments taught me that the real seat of taste is not the tongue but the mind.

I also made some acquaintance with various religions. Thanks to two Theosophist friends whom I met during

the period, I was led to read the *Bhagavad Gita* for the first time. They invited me to read the *Song Celestial*—Sir Edwin Arnold's translation of the *Gita*—with them. I confessed with shame that though I had never read, either in the original or translation, what was regarded as our most sacred book, I should gladly read the English translation with them and help them in what humble way I could. So I began reading the *Gita* with them. The following verses in the second chapter made a deep impression on my mind and they still ring in my ears:

If one
 Ponders on objects of the sense, there springs
 Attraction : from attraction grows desire,
 Desire flames to fierce passion, passion breeds
 Recklessness ; then the memory—all betrayed—
 Lets noble purpose go, and saps the mind
 Till purpose, mind, and man are all undone.

The book struck me as one of priceless worth. It has afforded me invaluable help in my moments of gloom.

At the suggestion of a Christian friend from Manchester I read the *Bible* about the same time. Parts of the Old Testament, through which I plodded with much difficulty, repelled me, but the New Testament, especially the Sermon on the Mount, captured me. I compared it with the *Gita*. The verses: 'But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,' delighted me beyond measure and put me in mind of the lines from the Gujarati poet Shamalbhatt: 'For a bowl of water, give a goodly meal.'

I did not then know the essence of religion or of God, and how He works in us. Indeed I rejoice to be able to say that on many occasions of trial He has saved me against myself. When every hope is gone, 'when other helpers

fail and comforts flee', I have known help to arrive somehow. Supplication, worship, prayer are no superstition; they are acts more real than the acts of eating, drinking, sitting or walking. It is no exaggeration to say that they alone are real, all else is unreal.

—*My Early Life*

PRACTICALISM AND IDEALISM*

BY SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

I may discuss with you one or two of the questions in which we all are interested. The first of these that strikes my mind is that of higher education itself, as imparted in our universities. For some years past it has been criticised, adversely and severely, first by some British officials, and, following them, by a section of our countrymen, as responsible for many evils, ranging from "slave mentality" to unemployment. The charge in connection with the former has lately fallen into the background, though one hears even now some echo of it, from time to time, but that in regard to unemployment still persists. It is constantly asserted in certain quarters that it is the universities that are mainly responsible for unemployment, in an acute form, among the educated classes in this country, and that it would disappear if steps were taken to discourage, if not to abolish, university education. But there are other countries, which, proportionately to their area and population, have a much larger number of universities, and turn out an appreciably larger number of graduates, but where the problem of unemployment has never been suggested as an adequate ground for discouraging or abolishing university education.

I venture to suggest to you that this problem has not been examined by the critics of our universities in a correct perspective. To begin with, is it possible to deal with the

**Address delivered at the sixteenth Annual Convocation of the Nagpur University held on the 11th December, 1937.*

question of unemployment among the educated classes as something wholly distinct from the state of chronic unemployment prevailing among the vast bulk of the illiterate masses in the country? Is it logical to divide the problem of unemployment in India into two watertight compartments, and to seek a solution of one, while ignoring the economic conditions affecting the other and by far the greater part? I submit it betrays an error of judgment to adopt this line of reasoning, and to attempt to solve on its basis the problem of unemployment amongst the educated classes alone—irrespective of the condition, in this respect, of large sections of our masses. India, it seems, is unfortunately the only country where unemployment is proclaimed to be the result of higher education.

In Europe and America, while it is true that the general tendency is to give a practical turn to education, they do not try to solve the problem of unemployment by that means alone. Economic development and industrial expansion, through political control, are what western nations have turned to as the remedy for unemployment, and not the curtailment of university education.

You may make education as practical as you please, you may convert all your schools and colleges into technical and technological institutions, but you will not thereby reduce unemployment unless you are able to increase the wealth of the country, and, what is more, to prevent its being drained away.

Viewed thus, the unemployment problem in India is not so much an educational as an economic one, which, again, cannot be dissociated from its implications, and to attempt to solve it chiefly by proposing drastic changes in the educational system alone, is bound to end in producing a worse state of things; for it would be an attempt to cure a bad disease by a worse remedy. Let our educational

system be recast, revised and re-organised as you will, but unless the economic system is substantially improved by means of the industrial development of the natural resources of the country, unemployment will not disappear even though higher education were reformed out of its very existence. This for the simple reason that unemployment is the result not so much of serious defects in our university education as of an unsound economic system.

Growing unemployment in the various spheres of intellectual activity is an international problem, the only solution of which can be the economic and occupational reconstruction of society.

Our universities have rendered, in my opinion, very great services to India. Assuming the correctness of the premises of our critics—that our educational system was originally designed to produce mere clerks and subordinate officials—it has certainly long since belied the intention, or expectation, of its organisers by producing not only almost all our great national leaders, but also all those who have been successful workers in various spheres of public activity, with advantage to themselves and with credit to the country. It is to their *alumni* that India owes, to a very large extent, the progress that she has made in so many fields of national activity, which has ushered in what is popularly known as the great Indian Renaissance. It is the products of the universities who have made India what she is to-day.

I am, therefore, glad that wholesale denunciation of our university system has been lately subjected to criticism by several distinguished educationists, who by their position and knowledge are fully qualified to speak on this question with authority.

I entirely agree with the views of the experts, as to the much greater scope for service by our universities, if only

they were supplied with larger financial resources, and fortified with greater moral support from the leaders of public opinion, who try to depreciate the great advantages of university education, in their over-anxiety to reduce unemployment, or advance the cause of primary or technical education.

We want men and women of the highest education, and not mere technicians—whether engineers or mechanics and artisans.

We are sometimes told by our mentors that higher education is not of much value as Indian students usually go to universities to get a degree in order to earn their bread, and not for acquiring knowledge and culture. But are not the majority of students who enter the portals of European and American universities actuated by the same utilitarian motive? Why then blame the poor Indian student alone, as if he were born with a double dose of original sin? And is culture wholly incompatible with bread-earning? Very few of us, indeed, are born with a silver spoon in our mouth, and most of us have to work for our daily bread. But it is not impossible, I maintain, for a cultured man to work for his bread, neither is it impossible for the bread-earner to be a man of culture: real and abiding culture, not flashy brilliance; tempered steel, not burnished tin. I would, therefore, appeal to you, the new graduates, not to be downcast by unfriendly criticisms of the education you have received. For my part I firmly believe that the education imparted to you ought to be, and will be, a source of strength and not of weakness.

Closely connected with the discussion of our system of higher education is that of the place occupied by English in our university curricula. Here, again, I have come across a good deal of unwarranted criticism for which, it seems to me, there is no justification. The adverse criti-

cism is evidently based on the assumption that the prominence given to English in our higher studies hinders, or is apt to hinder, the further growth of Indian languages for literary purposes. But I confess I do not at all appreciate this point of view. In almost all Indian universities many of the modern Indian languages are now taught up to the highest standard, and degrees are awarded to successful students. There is also a consensus of opinion that not only primary, but even secondary, education up to the Matriculation standard, should be imparted, where practicable, through the medium of the provincial language. But when it comes to the question of the abolition of English, or its relegation to the background, this deserves our careful consideration before we decide to tamper with a well-established system which, with all its defects, has contributed to the up-building of the nationalist India of today.

It has become almost customary in addresses delivered to graduates and students at Allahabad to refer to the confluence of the *Jamuna* and the *Ganga* as symbolical of the blending of Hindu and Muslim cultures in our great country. While that may be so, it does not represent the whole truth, for just as there is a third, though hidden, stream which lends sanctity to Prayag—the *Sarasvati*—even so modern Indian education involves three, and not two, factors. That third factor is the great western culture, of which we all are the products, and which, as such, cannot be left out of consideration. The medium of western culture is English. This point is very important, and it is the failure to appreciate it that vitiates the many proposed schemes of Indian educational reconstruction. The very prominent position which English has come to occupy as the *lingua franca* of the educated classes in this country, cannot be ignored.

The English language is now the natural or governmental language of nearly five hundred millions of people. Eastwards from Cairo to Tokio, it is the second language of a diversity of peoples ; it is also the second language compulsorily taught in the schools in various countries, including Japan. Of the world's radio stations, no less than half broadcast in English. Then it is a fact that English is no longer a foreign language amongst the politically-minded classes in India. It is the second language which educated Indians habitually use in their political and social activities. No Indian language is, or can, at present, be found equally suitable for the purpose. It is the knowledge of English and of the magnificent literature enshrined in it that has been admittedly the great emancipating force in India. It is obvious even to casual observers that our national leaders have been conversant with both.

The argument advanced by those who would like to dethrone English from the prominent position it occupies today in our universities, namely, that some other countries (like Japan and Turkey, for instance,) have accomplished the feat of national education through the medium of their own languages, is by no means convincing, as it overlooks the fundamental difference between comparatively small countries, with small populations of a few millions, and India—a great subcontinent with its many languages, vast territories, and an enormous population constituting about one-fifth of the human race. Those countries have also a population speaking only one principal language,—unlike ours where there are a number of developed languages, each with a considerable literature. The analogy of such countries, for replacing English by some Indian language, is, therefore, wholly misleading and unsound.

Besides, in considering this subject, we should not

overlook the undisputed fact that English is now the most widely used language, and is spoken and understood much more extensively throughout the world than any other. It is spoken by more people today outside Britain than inside that country, and has thus acquired the status of an international language. But that is not all. It enshrines, besides a rich imaginative literature, work-a-day knowledge of all subjects, which is already being utilised by the youth of this country. English is thus no longer the monopoly of Englishmen, or of Britons, but a great heritage to all who may care to study it and reap the fruits of their acquisition. The prejudice, amongst some sections of our people, against the study and use of English is probably due to political considerations, born of the assumption that it is the exclusive property of the British.

But, as you are no doubt aware, there are at least three great nations, outside the British Isles, which speak English as their mother-tongue. One of them, the United States, is now Britain's equal in sea-power, and perhaps her superior in money-power. The Asiatic nations, like China and Japan, with which India has close affinities, have made a knowledge of English compulsory. India's position in international circles is thus alongside of the English-speaking nations. Hence the movement to discard, or to discourage, English is a retrograde step, from the nationalist point of view, and it should not be encouraged by the well-wishers of the country. I am gratified to find that the Education Minister of the Hyderabad State declared his views on this subject, the other day, in the course of an address, as follows: "I agree that education should be in the vernacular. But if we let English go overboard, we shall be severing all contact with the world, forget all that we have learnt from the West—democracy included—and lose touch with the world of science and arts, and with pro-

gress.” These observations are all the more significant since they emanate from the head of the Education Department of the wealthiest and most populous Indian State where alone higher education is imparted through the medium of an Indian language.

I am a believer not only in economic and political freedom, but also in freedom in a larger and wider sense; freedom from all unreasonable and unjustifiable restraints, not only economic, industrial and political, but even religious and social. If you take the same view of freedom as I do, and cherish liberty as the fundamental rule in all your activities, you will have learnt to refuse to submerge your individuality, as a rational being, either in the State, or in a social community, or a political party, or an economic group, or a religious fraternity, but will assert its value for progress and sense of responsibility.

At present such a view of individual freedom is at a discount even in western Europe, not excluding Britain, where it was once held in high esteem. There is to-day even in advanced democratic countries a decay of the individual's sense of responsibility, which is so necessary, to my mind, in the difficult work of government, while the individual and his indefeasible rights to the expression of his free opinion, are being relegated to the background in the new experiments in government which are being made in various countries. I hope, however, that you will not allow yourselves to be crushed, but will stand up for personal freedom, which like air is absolutely essential to human life, it being—in the words of a great statesman,—“the most ineradicable craving of human nature, without which peace, contentment and happiness, even manhood itself, are not possible.”

If you indulge in introspection—as I trust you do—you must have realised that your failings are mainly due to

the fact that though you intellectually assent to many things, your feelings and emotions stand in the way of your carrying them out in practice. Now it may, at first sight, seem paradoxical that your feelings should not permit you to do what commands your intellectual assent. But that it is so, is a stubborn fact, and an undeniable reality. It is a matter of common experience in this country to find people, in all spheres of life, professing views and sentiments which they dare not think of putting into practice, or against which they not unoften act. It is, in fact, not an unusual experience to find an educated Indian not only, at times, wanting in the courage of his convictions, but actually doing things which belie his professed beliefs.

Now why should that be so, and how can it be accounted for? The question is discussed by Herbert Spencer in a luminous essay, and this is how he explains the apparent inconsistency: "It is assumed that when men are taught what is right, they will do what is right, that a proposition intellectually accepted will be morally propositive. This undue faith in teaching is mainly caused by the erroneous conception of mind. Were it fully realised that the emotions are the master and the intellect the servant, it would be seen that little could be done by improving the servant while the masters remain unimproved." You will thus easily see how necessary it is that our young men and women should have a chance of improving, by proper exercise, their emotions, as well as their intellect. For obvious reasons, however, it is not possible for our schools and colleges to offer suitable opportunities for the development of what can grow only in the more congenial atmosphere of the home. And as the home implies the influence and guidance of women, it is clear that there cannot be surroundings favourable to the growth of emotions in our homes unless our women are duly qualified

by education and training to play their parts, as they should do, in our home-life.

In this view of the matter, you are brought face to face with one of the greatest problems of Indian reform, namely, the emancipation—physical and mental—of our women. I shall ask you to address yourselves, in right earnest, to this great and crucial problem than which none is more important or more urgent. Only when you will have solved it satisfactorily, will you have proved yourselves worthy of your education, and of the degree to which you have been admitted today.

It is generally said that everyone in the modern world wants facts, and no one needs fiction—the terms “fact” and “fiction” connoting what we call, in common parlance, the practical and the ideal. “What I want,” Dickens makes Mr. Gradgrind say in *Hard Times*, “is facts. Teach these boys nothing but facts. Facts alone are wanted in life.” The notorious Mr. Squeers in *Nicholas Nickleby* was evidently of the same mind.

Now it is generally agreed that love of mere fact produces that narrow type of practical man caricatured by Dickens. Instead of knowledge, culture, imagination, broad-mindedness, tact, urbanity and sympathy, there are often found an uncultured spirit, a warped mentality and a wrong perspective. We know also but too well how, similarly, fondness for fiction is equally unsatisfactory as an educative force, as it becomes a kind of escape from more serious and practical problems of life. Thus what India needs most at present is harmony between the ideal and the practical, if the nation is not to burn itself like misguided flies, in the flame of fantastic idealism. In our political, social and economic life, what we need above everything else is balance, a perfect poise, so that from a position of controlled elevation we may

assimilate all that is best in our surroundings, rejecting the rest as poisonous. This is not a call to accept "moderation", as that oft-repeated word is used and understood now in our country, but an appeal to pursue the path of the wise who, in their march towards the destined goal, neither deliberately shut their eyes to reality, nor allow themselves to be blinded by the momentary glare of the flashing novelties of shibboleths, stunts and slogans.

While, therefore, I hope that none of you will think of emulating the so-called practical man, whose practicality is but a pretext for disregarding a high standard of life and conduct and the noblest emotions, you must at the same time guard yourselves against degenerating into his nominal enemy, but real ally, by developing into a sentimental idealist, who butts his head against the stone-wall, with injury to himself and with advantage to none. The true conception of combining a high ideal with the practical instinct, which I have emphasised, was happily set forth by one of the most successful administrators and workers in public interest, the American President Theodore Roosevelt, when he uttered the wise dictum: "Common sense is essential above all other qualities to the idealist; for an idealist without common sense, without the capacity to work for actual results, is merely a boat that is all sails, with neither ballast nor rudder." If you keep these observations in mind, you are not likely to go wrong and see your efforts brought to naught in any field of activity; on the contrary, you will have lived to realise your legitimate ideals and high aspirations.

Ideals, you will be told by some, are all right, but they will not provide you with bread and butter. I am not so sure of that. Nevertheless, those of us who hold that

nothing is good in this world but what is good to eat, have no need to send their boys to a university. University education is worth little if it does not predispose men and women to value the great and distant ideals more than the immediate return in cash or kind. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" is the very worst motto which a university student could have.

Those who think that the ideal and the real are the two opposite poles of the compass, that there is no sort of contact between them, that they are completely antithetical, are really the blind ones of the earth. It was the first of the apostles who recalled the old benediction as a sure sign of a nation's regeneration: "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." Take their advice, by all means, but use your own judgment. The call to sacrifice in the interest of a great cause is likely to receive a readier response from young men than from those who have passed the meridian of their lives. Listen to the inner voice, and give yourselves up freely to some great ideal, which may appeal to you. The very pursuit of it brings enduring happiness in its train. Even if success does not come, you will still have deserved it.

THE AWAKENING SOUL OF INDIA

BY SRI AUROBINDO

A Nation is building in India to-day before the eyes of the world so swiftly, so palpably that all can watch the process, and those who have sympathy and intuition distinguish the forces at work, the materials in use, the lines of the divine architecture. This nation is not a new race ^{born} raw from the workshop of Nature or created by modern circumstances. One of the oldest races and greatest civilizations on this earth, the most indomitable in vitality, the most fecund in greatness, the deepest in life, the most wonderful in potentiality, after taking into itself numerous sources of strength from foreign strains of blood and other types of human civilization, is now seeking to lift itself forward into an organised national unity. Formerly a congeries of kindred nations with a single life and a single culture, ^{of same stock as we} always by the law of this essential oneness tending to unity, always by its excess of fecundity engendering fresh diversities and divisions, it has never yet been able to overcome permanently the almost insuperable obstacles to the organization of a continent. The time has now come when those obstacles can be overcome. The attempt which our race has been making throughout its long history, it will now make under entirely new circumstances. A keen observer would predict its success because the only important obstacles have been, or are in the process of being, removed. But we go farther and believe that it is sure to succeed because the freedom, unity and greatness of India have now become necessary to the world. This is the faith in which the *Karmayogin* puts his hand to

the work and will persist in it, refusing to be discouraged by difficulties however immense and apparently insuperable. We believe that God is with us, and in that faith we shall conquer.[†] We believe that humanity needs us, and it is the love and service of humanity, of our country, of the race, of our religion that will purify our heart[‡] and inspire our action in the struggle. relig. em

The task we set before ourselves is not mechanical but moral and spiritual. We aim not at the alteration of a form of government but at the building up of a nation. Of that task politics is a part, but only a part. We shall devote ourselves not to politics alone, nor to social questions alone, nor to theology or philosophy or literature or science by themselves, ^{religion} but we include all these in one entity which we believe to be all-important, the *Dharma*, the national religion which we also believe to be universal. There is a mighty law of life, a great principle of human evolution, a body of spiritual knowledge and experience of which India has always been destined to be guardian, exemplar and missionary. This is the *Sanatana Dharma*, the eternal religion. Under the stress of alien impacts she has largely lost hold not of the ^{structure} of that *Dharma*, but of its living reality. For the religion of India is nothing if it is ^{not} lived. It has to be applied ^{as one of the duties of life} not only to life, but to the whole of life; its spirit has to enter into and mould our society, our politics, our literature, our science, our individual character, affections and aspirations. To understand the heart of this *Dharma*, to experience it as a truth, to feel the high emotions to which it rises and to express and execute it in life is what we understand by *Karmayoga*. We believe that it is to make the *yoga* the ideal of human life that India rises to-day; by the *yoga* she will get the strength to realise her freedom, unity and greatness, by the *yoga* she will keep the strength to preserve it. It is a spiritual

as a reality of State

revolution we foresee and the material is only its shadow and reflex.

The European sets ^{phase} great store by machinery. He seeks ^{important} to renovate humanity by schemes of society and ^{political better} systems of government; he hopes to bring about the millennium ^{phase of social reform} by an Act of Parliament. Machinery is of great ^{golden age} importance, but only as a working means for the spirit within, the force behind. The nineteenth century in India aspired to political emancipation, social renovation, religious vision and rebirth, but it failed because it adopted Western motives and methods, ignored the spirit, history and destiny of our race, and thought that by taking over European education, European machinery, European organization and equipment, we should reproduce in ourselves European prosperity, energy and progress. (We of the twentieth century reject the aims, ideals and methods of the Anglicised nineteenth precisely because we accept its experience.) We refuse to make an idol of the present; "we look before and after," backward to the mighty history of our race, forward to the grand ^{glorious} history for which that destiny has prepared it.

We do not believe that our political salvation can be attained by enlargement of ^{general} Councils, introduction of the elective principle, colonial self-government ^{more power} or any other formula of European politics. We do not deny the use of some of these things ^{agitation and methods} as instruments, as weapons in a political struggle, but we deny their sufficiency whether as instruments or ideals and look beyond to an end which they do not serve except in a trifling degree. They might be sufficient if it were our ultimate destiny to be a dependent adjunct of European civilization. That is a future which we do not think it worth making any sacrifice to accomplish. We believe, on the other hand, that India is destined to work out her own independent life and civilization, to stand in the forefront of the world and solve the political, social, economic

and moral problems ^{of relation between man and man} which Europe has failed to solve, yet the ^{systematic} pursuit of which, and the feverish passage in that pursuit from experiment to experiment, from failure to failure, she calls her progress. Our means must be as great as our ends, and the strength to discover and use the means so as to attain the end can only be found by seeking the eternal source of strength in ourselves.

We do not believe that by changing the ^{mechanical system of} machinery so as to make our society the ape of Europe we shall effect social renovation. Widow-remarriage, substitution of class ^{for caste}, adult marriage, inter-marriages, inter-dining and the other nostrums of the social reformer are mechanical changes which, whatever their merits or demerits, cannot by themselves save the soul of the nation alive, or stay the course of degradation and decline. It is the spirit alone that saves, and only by becoming great and free in heart can we become socially and politically great and free. ^{Angas}

We do not believe that by multiplying new sects limited within the narrower and inferior ideas of religion imported from the West, or by creating organizations for the perpetuation of the mere dress and body of Hinduism, we can recover our spiritual health, energy and greatness. The world moves through an indispensable interregnum of free thought and materialism to a new synthesis of religious thought and experience, a new religious world-life free from intolerance, yet full of faith and fervour, accepting all forms of religion because it has an unshakable faith in the One. The religion which embraces Science and faith, Theism, Christianity, Mahomedanism and Buddhism, and yet is none of these, is that to which the World-Spirit moves. In our own, which is the most sceptical and the most believing of all, the most sceptical because it has questioned and experimented the most, the most believing because it has the deepest experience and the most varied and

positive spiritual knowledge, that wider Hinduism which is not a dogma or combination of dogmas but a law of life, which is not a social framework but the spirit of a past and future social evolution, which rejects nothing but insists on testing and experiencing everything, and, when tested and experienced, turning it to the soul's uses, in this Hinduism we find the basis of the future world-religion. This *Sanatana Dharma* has many scriptures, *Veda*, *Vedanta*, *Geeta*, *Upanishad*, *Darshana*, *Purana*, *Tantra*, nor could it reject the Bible or the *Koran*; but its real, most authoritative scripture is in the heart in which the Eternal has His dwelling. It is in our inner spiritual experiences that we shall find the proof and source of the world's Scriptures, the law of knowledge, love and conduct, the basis and inspiration of *Karmayoga*.

Our aim will therefore be to help in building up India ^{nationalism} for the sake of humanity—this is the spirit of the Nationalism which we profess and follow. We say to humanity: "The time has come when you must take the great step and rise out of a material existence into the higher, deeper and wider life towards which humanity moves. The problems which have troubled mankind can only be solved by conquering the kingdom within, not by harnessing the forces of Nature to the service of comfort and luxury, but by mastering the forces of the intellect and the spirit, by vindicating the freedom of man within as well as without, and by conquering from within ^{by establishing harmony with} external Nature. For that work the resurgence of Asia is necessary, therefore Asia rises. For that work the freedom and greatness of India is essential, therefore she claims her destined freedom and greatness, and it is to the interest of all humanity, not excluding England, that she should wholly establish her claim."

We say to the nation: "It is God's will that we should

be ourselves and not Europe. We have sought to regain life by following the law of another being than our own. We must return and seek the sources of life and strength within ourselves. We must know our past and recover it for the purposes of our future. Our business is to realise ourselves first and to mould everything to the law of India's eternal life and nature. It will therefore be the object of the *Karmayogin* to read the heart of our religion, our society, our philosophy, politics, literature, art, jurisprudence, science, thought, everything that was and is ours, so that we may be able to say to ourselves and our nation, 'This is our *Dharma*'. We shall review European civilization entirely from the standpoint of Indian thought and knowledge and seek to throw off from us the dominating stamp of the Occident; what we have to take from the West we shall take as Indians. And the *Dharma*, once discovered, we shall strive our utmost not only to profess but to live, in our individual actions, in our social life, in our political endeavours."

We say to the individual and especially to the young who are now arising to do India's work, the world's work, God's work: "You cannot cherish these ideals, still less can you fulfil them, if you subject your minds to European ideas or look at life from the material standpoint. Materially you are nothing, spiritually you are everything. It is only the Indian who can believe everything, dare everything, sacrifice everything. First, therefore, become Indians. Recover the patrimony of your forefathers. Recover the Aryan thought, the Aryan discipline, the Aryan character, the Aryan life. Recover the *Vedanta*, the *Geeta*, the *Yoga*. Recover them not only in intellect or sentiment but in your lives. Live them and you will be great and strong, mighty, invincible and fearless. Neither life nor death will have any terrors for you. Difficulty

and impossibility will vanish from your vocabularies. For it is in the spirit that strength is eternal and you must win back the kingdom of yourselves, the inner *Swaraj*, before you can win back your outer empire. There the Mother dwells, and She waits for worship that She may give strength. Believe in Her, serve Her, lose your wills in Hers, your egoism in the greater ego of the country, your separate selfishness in the service of humanity. Recover the source of all strength in yourselves, and all else will be added to you, social soundness, intellectual pre-eminence, political freedom, the mastery of human thought, the hegemony of the world."

and "No national awakening is really vital and enduring which confines itself to a single field. It is when the soul awakens that a nation is really alive, and the life will then manifest itself in all the manifold forms of activity in which man seeks to express the strength and the delight of the expansive spirit within. (It is for *Ananda*[†] that the world exists; for joy that the Self puts Himself into the great and serious game of life; and the joy which He sees is the joy of various self-expression.) For this reason it is that no two men are alike, no two nations are alike. Each has its own separate nature over and above the common nature of humanity, and it is not only the common human impulses and activities but the satisfaction and development of its own separate character and capacities that a nation demands. Denied that satisfaction and development, it perishes. (By two tests, therefore, the vitality of a national movement can be judged.) If it is imitative, imported, artificial, then, whatever temporary success it may have, the nation is moving towards self-sterilization and death; even so the nations of ancient Europe perished when they gave up their own individuality as the price of Roman civilization, Roman peace, Roman prosperity. If, on the

other hand, the peculiar individuality of a race stamps itself on the movement in every part and seizes on every new development as a means of self-expression, then the nation wakes, lives and grows, and whatever the revolutions and changes of political, social or intellectual forms and institutions, it is assured of its survival and aggrandisement.

The nineteenth century in India was imitative, self-forgetful, artificial. It aimed at a successful reproduction of Europe in India, forgetting the deep saying of the *Geeta* — “Better the law of one’s own being, though it be badly done, than an alien *Dharma* well-followed; death in one’s own *Dharma* is better, it is a dangerous thing to follow the law of another’s nature.” For death in one’s own *Dharma* brings new birth, success in an alien path means only successful suicide. If we had succeeded in Europeanizing ourselves we would have lost for ever our spiritual capacity, our intellectual force, our national elasticity and power of self-renovation. That tragedy has been enacted more than once in history, only the worst and most mournful example of all would have been added. Had the whole activity of the country been of the derivative and alien kind, that result would have supervened. But the life-breath of the nation still moved in the religious movements of Bengal and the Punjab, in the political aspirations of Maharashtra and in the literary activity of Bengal. Even here it was an undercurrent, the peculiar temperament and vitality of India struggling for self-preservation under a load of foreign ideas and foreign forms, and it was not till in the struggle between these two elements the balance turned in favour of the national *Dharma* that the salvation of India was assured. The resistance of the conservative element in Hinduism, “*tamasic*”, inert, ignorant, uncreative though it was, saved the country by preventing an

even more rapid and thorough disintegration than actually took place, and by giving respite and time for the persistent national self to emerge and find itself. It was in religion first that the soul of India awoke and triumphed. There were always indications, always great forerunners, but it was when the flower of the educated youth of Calcutta bowed down at the feet of an illiterate Hindu ascetic, a self-illuminated ecstatic and "mystic" without a single trace or touch of the alien thought or education upon him, that the battle was won. The going forth of Vivekananda, marked out by the Master as the heroic soul destined to take the world between his two hands and change it, was the first visible sign to the world that India was awake not only to survive but also to conquer. Afterwards, when the awakening was complete, a section of the nationalist movement turned in imagination to a reconstruction of the recent pre-British past in all its details. This could not be. Inertia, the refusal to expand and alter, is what our philosophy calls *tamas*, and an excess of *tamas* tends to distintegration and disappearance. Aggression is necessary for self-preservation, and when a force ceases to conquer it ceases to live—that which remains stationary and stands merely on the defensive, that which retires into and keeps within its own *kot* or base, as the now defunct "*Sandhya*" used graphically to put it, is doomed to defeat, diminution and final elimination from the living things of the world. Hinduism has always been pliable and aggressive; it has thrown itself on the attacking force, carried its positions, plundered its treasures, made its own everything of value it had, and ended either in wholly annexing it or driving it out by rendering its further continuation in the country purposeless and therefore impossible. Whenever it has stood on the defensive, it has contracted within narrower limits and shown temporary signs of decay.

(Once the soul of the nation was awake in religion, it was only a matter of time and opportunity for it to throw itself on all spiritual and intellectual activities in the national existence and take possession of them.) The outburst of anti-European feeling which followed on the Partition gave the required opportunity. Anger, vindictiveness and antipathy are not in themselves laudable feelings, but God uses them for His purposes and brings good out of evil. They drove listlessness and apathy away and replaced them by energy and a powerful emotion; and that energy and emotion were seized upon by the national self and turned to the uses of the future. The anger against Europeans, the vengeful turning upon their commerce and its productions, the antipathy to everything associated with them engendered a powerful stream of tendency turning away from the immediate Anglicised past, and the spirit which had already declared itself in our religious life entered in by this broad doorway into politics, and substituted a positive powerful yearning towards the national past, a still more mighty and dynamic yearning towards a truly national future. The Indian spirit has not yet conquered the whole field of our politics in actuality, but it is there victoriously in sentiment; the rest is a matter of time, and everything which is now happening in politics is helping to prepare for its true and potent expression. The future is now assured. (Religion and politics, the two most effective and vital expressions of the nation's self, having been nationalised, the rest will follow in due course.) The needs of our religious and political life are now vital and real forces, and it is these needs which will reconstruct our society, recreate and remould our industrial and commercial life, and found a new and victorious art, literature, science, and philosophy which will be not European but Indian.

The impulse is already working in Bengali art and literature. The need of self-expression for the national spirit in politics suddenly brought back Bengali literature to its essential and eternal self, and it was in our recent national songs that this self-realisation came. The lyric and the lyrical spirit, the spirit of simple, direct and poignant expression, of deep, passionate, straightforward emotion, of a frank and exalted enthusiasm, the dominant note of love and *bhakti* of a mingled sweetness and strength, the potent intellect dominated by the self-illuminated heart, a mystical exaltation of feeling and spiritual insight expressing itself with a plain concreteness and practicality—this is the soul of Bengal. All our literature, in order to be wholly alive, must start from this base and, whatever variations it may indulge in, never lose touch with it. In Bengal, again, the national spirit is seeking to satisfy itself in art and, for the first time since the decline of the Moguls, a new school of national art is developing itself, the school of which Abanindranath Tagore is the founder and master. It is still troubled by the foreign, though Asiatic, influence from which its master started, and has something of an exotic appearance, but the development and self-emancipation of the national self from this temporary domination can already be watched and followed. There, again, it is the spirit of Bengal that expresses itself. The attempt to express in form and limit something of that which is formless and illimitable is the attempt of Indian art. The Greeks, aiming at a smaller and more easily attainable end, achieved a more perfect success. Their instinct for physical form was greater than ours, our instinct for psychic shape and colour was superior. Our future art must solve the problem of expressing the soul in the object,—the great Indian aim,—while achieving anew the triumphant combination of perfect interpretative form and colour.

No Indian has so strong an instinct for form as the Bengali. In addition to the innate Vedantism of all Indian races, he has an all-powerful impulse towards delicacy, grace and strength, and it is these qualities to which the new school of art has instinctively turned in its first inception. Unable to find a perfect model in the scanty relics of old Indian art, it was only natural that it should turn to Japan for help, for delicacy and grace are there triumphant. But Japan has not the secret of expressing the deepest soul in the object,—it has not the aim. And the Bengali spirit means more than the union of delicacy, grace and strength; it has the lyrical, mystic impulse; it has the passion for clarity and concreteness, and as in our literature, so in our art we see these tendencies emerging—an emotion of beauty, a nameless sweetness and spirituality pervading the clear line and form. Here too it is the free spirit of the nation beginning to emancipate itself from the foreign limitations and shackles.

No department of our life can escape this great regenerating and reconstructing force. (There is not the slightest doubt that our society will have to undergo a reconstruction which may amount to revolution, but it will not be for Europeanization, as the average reformer blindly hopes, but for a greater and more perfect realisation of the national spirit in society. Not individual selfishness and mutually consuming struggle, but love and the binding of individuals into a single inseparable life is the national impulse. It sought to fulfil itself in the past by the bond of blood in the joint family, by the bond of a partial communism in the village system, by the bond of birth and a corporate sense of honour in the caste. It may seek a more perfect and spiritual bond in the future. In commerce also, so long as we follow the European spirit and European model, the individual competitive selfishness, the bond of mere

interest in the joint-stock company or that worst and most dangerous development of co-operative Capitalism, the giant octopus-like Trust and Syndicate, we shall never succeed in rebuilding a healthy industrial life. It is not these bonds which can weld Indians together. India moves to a deeper and greater life than the world has yet imagined possible, and it is when she has found the secret of expressing herself in those various activities that her industrial and social life will become strong and expansive.

(Nationalism has been hitherto largely a revolt against the tendency to shape ourselves into the mould of Europe; but it must also be on its guard against any tendency to cling to every detail that has been Indian. That has not been the spirit of Hinduism in the past, there is no reason why it should be so in the future.) In all life there are three elements, the fixed and permanent spirit, the developing yet constant soul, and the brittle changeable body. The spirit we cannot change, we can only obscure or lose; the soul must not be rashly meddled with, must neither be tortured into a shape alien to it, nor obstructed in its free expansion; and the body must be used as a means, not over-cherished as a thing valuable for its own sake. (We will sacrifice no ancient form to an unreasoning love of change, we will keep none which the national spirit desires to replace by one that is a still better and truer expression of the undying soul of the nation.)

—*The Ideal of the Karmayogin*

A CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

BY THE RT. HON'BLE DR. M. R. JAYAKAR

How best can Universities help to promote plans of national education? It is obvious that any system of national education, in a country like ours, must possess certain characteristics before it can hope to succeed. On a little reflection, the following will appear to be some of these characteristics:—

(1) It must be based on the actual needs of the entire nation in all its stages and give an opportunity to every man, woman and child to develop personality to the utmost extent and to live a full life.

(2) Its objectives, method and standards of performance must have relation to the facts of the complete life of the people, and to their economic, social and cultural needs, so that it touches society in all its various sections and cross-sections.

(3) It must be based on a new conception of citizenship, the requirements of which will have to be carefully formulated by the State and the people meeting together in a spirit of co-operation. It is obvious that the proper basis of a sound system of education must be a conception of citizenship suited to the stage at which the State has arrived, and this, in its turn, will require us to decide what kind of society we wish to have, what ideology to create, whether we shall continue the present acquisitive or competitive system, where one man's loss is another man's gain, or replace it

**This was to have been delivered at the Patna University in November, 1943.*

by a co-operative one, which secures the common good of various classes. Let me warn you that this is a job not for the politician, but for the thinkers and the educationists of the nation connected with the Universities of India. The Universities must take up this work. The danger of leaving it to the politician is that, as experience has proved, he will create citizens in the sense of 'good haters and lusty flag-wavers', as somebody said recently.

(4) It must aim at creating a new type of administrator fitted to work the new constitution. He must be an Indian who has made the fullest use of the opportunities at the University in the manner mentioned below and who has, as a result, acquired characteristics which make him, by the breadth of his sympathies, a truly representative Indian—a man of calm judgment, infinite tolerance, inflexible impartiality, combining with these a gift of leadership, able to rise superior to excitement and to quiet it in others by his toleration and readiness to appreciate the opposite point of view.

(5) It must at every stage of school and college life inculcate the necessity of national unity and peace, and adopt practical methods to bring them about. Forces have already been at work to aid this process of unification, and it should be the business of educationists to take it in hand.

I propose to offer a few practical suggestions as to how our Universities could help this process; what enquiries they could undertake, what atmosphere they could provide for their pupils, what ideologies they could create amongst them. It is obvious that post-war reconstruction must be an all-nation effort, and the Universities must bear their respective share. Our Universities would have to take up the work, which some of the younger Universities of America have partially accomplished. For instance,

the University of Wisconsin made an experiment in finding out what was best suited to the American mind in relation to the contents of study and methods of teaching, so as to determine the proper conditions for the undergraduate in receiving liberal education. The National Society for the Study of Education in America made no less than 128 attempts to determine the proper conditions of college life, and a veritable tide of self-criticism swept over the educational world in that country, with a view to discovering what sort of University life was best suited to local conditions. As a result of enquiries and experiments made by several experts, they have come to adopt the following definition of liberal education, which may prove partially useful to us in India. Negatively, it is not training in technical skill, for instance, preparing one for a vocation, nor is it instruction in knowledge. The latter is only the means but not the end, which must be kept absolutely distinct. The means must always be subordinated to the end. The end is to use the means, called liberal teaching, to produce the 'liberal mind', through the cultivation of the faculty called 'intelligence'. By that term, modern educationists mean a power of self-direction in the affairs of life. An educationist of great eminence describes it as "intelligence capable of being applied in any field; ability to do what you have never done before". The attempt is to build up in the student the power of taking into his own hand the direction of his own affairs. The whole endeavour rests upon the assumption that as against the specialized teaching of men, for instance, in Banking, Scholarship, Industry, Art, Medicine, Law or the like, there is a general liberal teaching of men for 'intelligence' in the conduct of their lives as human individuals. 'Intelligence' is thus equivalent to readiness for any human situation. It is the power, wherever one goes, of being

able to see the best response which a human being can make to any set of circumstances; and the two constituents of that power would seem to be (1) a sense of human values and (2) a capacity for judging a situation as furnishing possibilities for the realising of those values.

A primary defect of our scheme of education is that, in its broad outlines, it resembles an educational ladder, commencing with the primary school, passing through the middle and the secondary school and terminating in the apex of a college degree or post-graduate studies. Millions enter, but few reach the top or even approach it. The intermediate stages are regarded as merely preparatory for the final stage and not as a preparation in themselves. Large masses of students who never expect even to approach the final stage and who would by reason of their training and environments, be incapable of taking any interest in concerns at the top, obtain no benefit from the training during the intermediate stages. Speaking of such a wasteful system of education, an American author (Alexander Meiklejohn) remarks: "The teaching enterprise, which at its final stage is the Graduate School dealing with only thousands of pupils, begins at the bottom of the ladder—the primary school—with millions. At every step in the ascent, after the age of compulsory attendance is passed, multitudes of pupils disappear from the class-room, until, at the end, a chosen and favoured few remain.... For the great majority who, at various stages of the process, leave the school to go into the 'practical' activities, the scholarly pursuits of the Graduate School, which they will never reach nor even approach, must be vague and meaningless."

This author then proceeds to make an observation which is particularly true of India. "We must remember",

he says, "that in the main people climb the first stages of the educational ladder, not with the purpose of making their way to the top, but in the expectation of finding, beside the ladder, here and there, landing-places, from which they may climb by other ladders in other directions and towards quite different goals, and if these other goals and directions are not clearly seen in their relation to those of the school, then the whole scheme of teaching becomes unintelligible—a chaos of divergent and irrelevant activities."

This defect of education, which is partially inherent in all schemes where the primary and secondary stages are regarded as preparatory for the last, is more particularly operative in the Indian system, because of many political and social drawbacks which it is unnecessary to detail here. It is enough to observe that no system of education can be suitable for a vast and poor country like India, with its teeming millions and varying grades of culture, with different economic and industrial needs, social conceptions and religious beliefs, unless it takes note of two requisites: (1) the creation of many 'landing-places' where the student may appropriately leave the main educational ladder and climb up another in a different direction, leading to a different goal. Many such intermediate and subsidiary ladders can be imagined. They would teach skill in some limited field of activity, in which the subject is similar to a higher branch of study, but the aim is to cultivate the ability to ply a trade or profession, to develop practical skill and not to teach in the higher and general sense. (2) The subsidiary ladders should not be interdependent or interconnected. Each should go its own way and attempt to prepare the student in his own special interest or vocation. The pupil being drawn into it comparatively young, the teaching is not expected to be so fundamental, ~~far-~~

reaching or scholarly, as that in the post-graduate school for the same branch of knowledge.

We must keep in view the fact that the bulk of India's population lives in villages and there are about seven lakhs of these awaiting development. A nexus has to be created between the University and the villages. Experience has shown that village regeneration cannot proceed from uneducated or ill-educated men. It must be taken in hand by young men, whose instincts are sympathetic, training adequate and modern. The primary object of devising the 'subsidiary ladders' will be to meet the wants of the country at large; but the incidental effect will be to relieve the pressure at the top, to weed out the unfit, to provide employment for less ambitious and less gifted men, and to establish a close affinity between town and country, which is lacking at present owing to the location of Universities in capital towns.

Another vital factor to be kept in view in post-war reconstruction is, as I stated above, the essential unity of India. We have amongst us various communities, but their cultures must meet on a common platform of corporate effort. Various languages are spoken, and a conflict has arisen between their claims to be the universal medium of expression. Each of these languages is an expression of the culture of its people, and a mere substitution of one language for another, as the general medium of expression, is not likely to succeed but may, on the contrary, engender antipathies unforeseen at present, until a fair acquaintance with the culture behind the language is created during a University career. It will, therefore, be necessary to have at the University a faculty of study, aiming at what may be called the 'intellectual nation-building of the people'. I am speaking here from my own experience which is more or less that of every graduate of my time.

How often have I felt that, though calling myself educated, I knew so little of the intellectual achievements of Indians outside my own race, community or province ! How little do I know, for instance, of Urdu poets past or present ! What do I understand of Tamil literature the delicate beauty of which is far-famed ? How ignorant am I of Bengali literature, the treasure-house of charm and beauty, enriched by the achievements of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Rabindranath Tagore ! Coming nearer home, what do I know of Narsey Mehta or of Govardhanram Tripathi of Gujarat ? Telugu conferences leave me cold. Tamil verses please my ear, but do not affect my understanding. It must be a very defective system indeed which has not awakened in me quick centres of response to what my countrymen in other parts of India devoutly honour and adore. I am ignorant, like an unlettered man, of all that is great in other literatures and histories in my own country. I am intimate with no colossal intellects beyond those produced in my own little environment, and yet I claim to belong to an 'Indian Nation'.

Religion may divide, but it is possible for us to meet and unite on the platform of a common veneration of one another's culture and civilization in India. Politics and culture have an affinity not often recognised. History records not a few instances of a nation being built out of elements uniting in a common endeavour to understand, appreciate and revere the culture and civilization of the component sections. That furnishes the adhesive element which ultimately clasps them together in bonds of steel. Our Universities must therefore lay the foundations of a general acquaintance with the history and intellectual achievements of the important communities inhabiting India. In ancient India, they had an excellent ritual, the spirit of which, with proper modification, might with

advantage be revived in these times. They used to call it 'Upakarma'. Though seemingly religious, the ritual had a high educational value. Once a year, at the beginning of the term, all the students of a college would meet together, invoke the names of the celebrities of the past, recall their achievements and pay tributes to their memory. The celebration of this ceremony served a double purpose. It created a close acquaintance with the past heroes of the nation and thus whetted the ambition of the youthful students. With the celebration of this function, the student would commence his annual labours with zest and vigour, hoping some day to emulate the past heroes by his own achievements. It also helped to keep the student's knowledge up-to-date in his own branch of learning. A popular writer on Indian education remarks that it is a pity that modern educational systems have not made provision for any festive functions of such a character.

I would, therefore, recommend the creation of a Faculty in every University, which would facilitate the compulsory study of Indian culture. Experience has proved that there are many points of affinity between the culture and the literature of the important communities inhabiting India. There is something very assimilative in art and culture, something contagious, with a tendency to blend itself with similarities surrounding it. Such assimilative processes operated freely in ancient India, and I am only making out a plea for a close study of these processes as a regular subject at the University. By this means, we shall eventually rear up a race of Indians in complete affinity with one another's modes of life and thought. We may thus succeed in neutralising the conflict which political ambitions and pacts often create.

An important feature of our educational reconstruction will relate to the vital question—how is the University

preparing its *alumni* to participate in the moral and political life of the country? University distinctions are an admirable achievement in their own way. But they can be no substitute for the spirit of sacrifice, the capacity to bear each other's burdens, which are so needed in the outer world. This is a task to the accomplishment of which every teacher and student must make his contribution. He can help or hinder the maintenance of that 'generous community of love', the fellowship of friends who have no aims which they hide from one another. University education must deliberately aim at the creation of a tradition, so that the college years of the pupil will prove a permanent treasure of happy memories, sustaining him in the toils of the outer life with strength and sweetness. But, whatever you do, let every care be taken to see that when you look back on your college life in the years to come, you will be able to regard it as a happy period, full of persistent effort to develop all the powers that God has given you—a time of mutual service and brotherly fellowship when mind and character grow up side by side. We must never forget what a great Oxonian (Jowett) said to his pupils: "The change from the school to the University is the greatest event which happens in your lives, greater perhaps formerly than now. We are making a new start. We are full of hope and ambitions. The world that is opening upon us has a great charm and awakens a feeling of romance in our minds. We are independent as we have never been before. We sit down in our rooms and invite our friends. We are our own masters and can do as we please,....a new and more liberal style of teaching and learning succeeds to the narrower regime of the school. The characters of some of us grow as much in a term as they had grown in a year before. We delight in the society of our fellows. Here is

an opportunity of forming friendships such as never recurs in after life. We are not confined in the choice of them to our own college, but from all colleges men are drawn together by common tastes and pursuits."

These observations are singularly appropriate in modern India; perhaps in no country are they so significant as in ours. Our college life furnishes ideal conditions for enlarging the bounds of our sympathy, knowledge and understanding. When minds are plastic and generous, when the spirit of accommodation is abundant and the capacity for reverence is infinite, youthful and energetic men of different communities are drawn together in intimate contact. At a time when ideals are not like the distant peaks of a misty mountain, but are like beacons illuminating from near the darkness of blurred judgments and faulty selection, we are thrown into contact with different types of young men, each representing, in miniature as it were, the history and culture of his own race. There sit the Bengali, Mahratta, Madrasi, Punjabi and the like—each bringing into the common output of college life and thought, his own ideal of Hindu life and meditative detachment. By his side sits the Muslim, with rooted ideas of a simple scheme of life, unfettered by irrational restraints and having a more human sense of all that makes life pleasant and enjoyable. Next to him is the Parsi, blending inextricably the reposeful culture of his ancestors with the intrepidity of modern commercialism. Next is the Christian, interpreting an old-world religion by casting it into modern thought form intelligible to his own race. I can go on multiplying instances making up a delectable mosaic. It is these surroundings which our college life provides, and it will be our fault—in fact our misfortune—if we fail to make use of them to develop a sense of unity and fellowship.

As we get along, we shall discover that our points of contact are more numerous than the points of difference. As a great collegian said on an important occasion, "We may find that the ties that unite us are greater than the oppositions which separate us. I do not mean to say that these differences are unimportant, but in this place (college) may we not find a practical solution of them in common work? May we not then turn from the points of difference which are so few to the points of agreement which are so numerous? Have we not enough in common to carry on the war against evil? The question that a young man has really to answer is not what the true nature of his religious dogmas or sacrament is, but how he should make the best use of his time, order his expenses, control his passions (that they may not, like harpies, be pursuing him through life) and live to God and the Truth, instead of living to pleasure and himself. Can we not find the common ground in the need which we all feel?"

Our college life provides a society "where no one does anything simply for himself but only as a servant of the society". It is there that we must learn to reconcile the seemingly divergent ideas of social unity and individual independence.

The college atmosphere is usually most receptive. Its capacity for reverence and admiration is almost pristine in its abundance and simplicity. Its heroes are speedily made and perhaps equally speedily destroyed. This sense of reverence and hero-worship should in no way be allowed to be prostituted for low political or party purpose. The capacity to be easily influenced by strong and invigorating forces is an admirable feature of college life. It should be carefully preserved to enrich the corporate life in the service of truth and beauty. Timid and cautious ways do sometimes have a foothold there, and calculating and hasty

moods have occasionally found a place. But the qualities that have always thriven in that atmosphere are those of the opposite description. Men seem to be continually shedding off some part of their personality into the society which surrounds them, and it is generally that part which can easily be rubbed off in the hard contact of equals. There is no conscious attempt to influence one another. But there are the unconscious action and reaction of character. Looking back on one's college life, it is not always easy to measure one's contribution to the good or the evil of the corporate life which one lived there. It is perhaps easier to recall the debt we have owed to those with whom we were thrown into contact.

Youth is the best gift of the gods, says an old *Upanishad*. Let us rejoice in it while we have it. It is the great formative period of our life, brief but powerful. We are then able to face the world with feelings pure and with ambitions unworldly. The bounds of our friendship, sympathy and fellow-feeling are not then set. We can push them as widely as we like until they encompass all that is worth knowing amongst our fellows. It is good to find a friend in a student born in a community widely removed from our own. To know him and through him to understand the feelings, hopes and even the prejudices that make him so dissimilar to us, is often a great experience. In acquiring it, we discover the human elements lying underneath all that, on casual examination, seemed so different and unintelligible. Through the mists of religious controversies and political antipathies, we discover points of contact and fellowship untouched by the infection of religious or social prejudices so powerful at a later age. Where religion divides, the common possession of youth and its generous instincts may unite, with its miraculous power of rooting itself deep in the affections of our companions. It is the difficulty of

discovering the human element in our opponent's life that constitutes the main obstacle at a later age. The contact is then absent, as also the generous spirit of sympathetic understanding. Our college life provides us with both in an ample measure. If we so wish it, we can pass out of college proud in the feeling that amongst our intimate friends we have a Muslim, a Hindu, a Christian or a Parsi, and that we can, on that account, instinctively appreciate and respect the discordant features that make them seem so different from us. One such friendship formed at college will save us in later life from the extremes of racial or communal antipathy which are always the result of ignorance and prejudice. Let us remember that, in all such matters, it is the first step that counts and that "one step in youth is worth ten in later years". Once we break through such barriers in early years, we lay down the lines of character which, in later life, will assert itself as the guiding principle of our relations with our fellow men.

I cannot do better than conclude this address by quoting the wise words of a great seer, one of the composers of a Vedic hymn centuries ago. Enshrined in it is immortal wisdom reflected in the ideal of corporate educational life, as conceived in ancient India. We must not imagine that such corporate life was unknown in ancient India. We have had, time after time, especially in the recent excavations of old ruins, increasing evidence of the existence of Universities and seminaries of learning, where from 2000 to 10,000 students assembled and carried on their search for truth. This is no place for going further into this interesting branch of study. It is sufficient to say that the extract I am quoting is from what was a Convocation address of those days delivered to students who had finished their long course of instruction. Before

their departure home, they met in conclave with their fellows, and were addressed by the head of the Institution. There is a great deal in this address which, though centuries old, is of perennial importance :

“ Meet together, talk together; may your minds comprehend alike; common be your action and achievement; common be your thoughts and intentions; common be the wishes of your hearts; so there may be thorough union among you.”

EDUCATION FOR NEW INDIA*

BY SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I am grateful to His Excellency the Chancellor for giving me this privilege of seeing the glad faces of the newly admitted graduates of the University and of giving them my good wishes. Dear young friends, the life-work of men of my generation has been very nearly completed. The lamp which it has pleased Providence to enable us to light will now come under your care. Protect it against the ill winds that blow against it. I value deeply the opportunity offered to me to say a few words to you today. During this initial period of independent national life, many a trite saying gets real and relevant meaning. So if I say some very ordinary and oft-repeated things, please do not think I just fill up time in a conventional way. I am a practical and serious-minded man, though I like a joke as much as anyone else. I love you greatly, and what I say is an earnest appeal to you and others like you.

I can claim His Excellency the Chancellor as a personal friend, though manifold links connected us in official life. I know that the people and the Government of the Province are sorry that he is leaving Madras. But it is a consolation that he along with Lady Nye will continue to be in India in a different capacity in which too there will be many opportunities for friendly assistance on their part to those who are engaged in national work, to me and others as well. Sir Archibald Nye, as well as Lord Mountbatten

**Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Madras University on 24th August, 1948.*

has, during the past year when they courageously and chivalrously remained with us after the transference of power, shown a devotion to work in the cause of peace and progress in India which we Indians may well emulate. Your Chancellor will be the last Britisher to be dissociated from the conduct of civil affairs in India. His departure heralds a period of added responsibility on our part for wise self-governance.

The late American Ambassador's wife, Mrs. Grady, while taking the plane to join her husband some days ago, gave a farewell message, in course of which she complimented Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me as men who belonged to the World and not only to India. Mrs. Grady was not referring to our knowledge of world affairs, for, whatever may be the case with our Prime Minister, I cannot lay claim to any special or even a passable degree of equipment in that field. Mrs. Grady was referring, I take it, to our obligations at the present juncture in the world. Not only the Prime Minister and I, but every enlightened citizen of India, must now rise to the full height not only of national citizenship but of world-citizenship. The world is watching India with goodwill. Our culture, our philosophy and our outlook on life have a new meaning and a new hope for the nations that have suffered and are suffering in the West. Our struggle against British Imperialism is over and, thank God, it has not ended on a note of bitterness but in complete goodwill and mutual understanding. Being citizens of a free country, we should now realize our mission as a nation and our place in world-civilization. We must fulfil the obligations that arise out of our place in Asia and our long and intimate connection with the West. We cannot escape world-citizenship and the particular *Dharma* which must appertain to India in that regard. By thinking of the world

and of man as a whole, we shall purify and strengthen ourselves even in respect of internal problems and anxieties.

Freedom has assuredly given us a new status and new opportunities. But it also implies that we should discard selfishness, laziness and all narrowness of outlook. Our freedom suggests toil and creation of new values for old ones. We should so discipline ourselves as to be able to discharge our new responsibilities satisfactorily. If there is any one thing that needs to be stressed more than any other in the new set-up, it is that we should put into action our full capacity, each one of us in productive effort—each one of us in his own sphere, however humble. Work, unceasing work, should now be our watch-word. Work is wealth, and service is happiness. Nothing else is. The greatest crime in India today is idleness. If we root out idleness, all our difficulties, including even conflicts, will gradually disappear. Whether as constable or high official of the State, whether as businessman or industrialist, artisan or farmer or peasant, each one of us is discharging his obligation to the State and making a contribution to the welfare of the country. Honest work is the sheet-anchor to which we should cling if we want to be saved from danger or difficulty. It is the fundamental law of progress.

Next to honest work is the habit of respecting other people's feelings. It takes all sorts to make this world, and the highest virtue of every citizen is to try so to conduct himself that a mode of life may be evolved by which people of differing religious faiths, occupations and attainments who constitute our society, may live in peace and amity. The law of love is a practical code of life, as our dear departed leader so strenuously sought to teach us. My confirmed opinion is that in India there is in fact no communal

hatred. Greed and fear of defeat in economic competition produce what is mistaken for communal ill-feeling. There is abundant and abiding respect for all kinds of creeds, faiths and ways of life, but selfishness and personal ambitions produce conditions of mind often mistaken for communal ill-will. It is not, therefore, a hopeless task to restore and maintain communal amity.

Unfortunately certain events have led to the atmosphere being full of alarm and expectation of a clash. We do not desire conflict. But we may not be able to avoid it. All the same, we must do our best to prevent what is admittedly bad for everybody concerned and for the nation. In any case, calmness is the best preparation to face any difficulty. Excitement is the contrary of preparedness. I am convinced that there is really no hatred between Hindus and Muslims or between any other communities. Nor is there any clash of interests. There are misunderstanding, pride and consequent stupidity. The long-drawn-out controversies of the recent past cannot be put aside all at once. Hence all these misunderstandings, this pride and this stupidity. But basically there is, among widely differing creeds and races, far greater understanding of the fundamentals of human fellowship in India than probably anywhere else. This being so, my hope is not ill-founded that India will lead the way in demonstrating harmony in diversity and furnishing a striking example in human co-operation in the midst of seeming heterogeneity. Whatever may be the immediate troubles, I have no doubt that you who have now graduated will, in your life-time, see a happy India without ill-will, strenuously engaged in reconstruction. There is no need to despair, whatever be the colour of things at present.

To manage the affairs of an independent state, trained leadership is necessary. You have had training in that

direction in some measure, for University education is nothing but a training for leadership. Numberless citizens are denied this privilege, and you should therefore regard your good fortune as a precious debt. In your daily conduct, in whatever walk of life you may be and under all conditions, you should remember your obligation of leadership and set an example to others how to think and speak and how to act. The physical defence of a State is the special responsibility of the members of the Forces. You are the moral and cultural army of India. Her progressive culture and contribution to world-civilization should be your concern. That the youth of today are the citizens of tomorrow is a trite saying. But in a land that has just attained political freedom the citizens have to shoulder new responsibilities in every field of national activity, and you, young graduates, should mark in that oft-repeated statement a vital significance that concerns you intimately.

We have gone through a long and intense political struggle which involved great and unprecedented sacrifices. Many of us are engaged now in cashing our cheques on the bank of sacrifice with a feeling of self-righteous anger when delayed at the counter or asked to stand in a queue. All this is natural, and it would be wrong to have expected that anything else could happen. Sacrifice had been sustained uninterruptedly through two generations, and it would be idle to expect those who suffered to stand down in self-abnegation when the illusions of power and position tempt. Admitting all this, enlightened men and women should ask themselves the question, "What is patriotism now?"

Graduates, on this great occasion in your life, when you must be overflowing with a sense of achievement and legitimate pride, an older person may offer a few remarks

on our immediate future. Independence is a goal for which we worked and struggled for several years. But we must now overcome the habit of mental resistance and opposition which was our pattern of behaviour until now. We must forget all the disappointments and frustrations we have suffered. We must turn all our experiences now to positive ends.

The years immediately ahead when our freedom has to be consolidated must be years of strenuous work. We cannot take out of life more than we put into it ourselves. The new opportunities that present themselves in our country may seem to be opportunities for individual advancement, but they are also, and perhaps more truly, opportunities for service to the country as a whole.

What is wanted is not competitive ambition but intense co-operation. The furtherance of the welfare of the people as a whole through constructive work is the warp and woof of patriotism now. Melodramatic reiteration of past struggles and dwelling on episodes of suffering may feed our pride in a way, but it is wholly irrelevant and is therefore a waste of energy in the present context when what is wanted is speed of realization of civic duty and energetic positive effort for reconstruction.

A teacher from Kerala wrote to me a few days back suggesting that I should clarify some points in the course of this address to you. He asked in his letter—(1) Should teachers and students be encouraged to take part in active politics apart from academic studies? My answer has always been—and I repeat it now,—NO! Active party politics is inconsistent with fruitful student-life. (2) Should our schools and colleges be scenes of political battles and party squabbles? My answer is an emphatic NO! (3) Should strikes and *Satyagraha* be recognized and encouraged in schools? My answer is again in the negative.

This takes me to my intention to share with the experienced educationists assembled here a few thoughts on education. There is a tendency in progressive political circles as well as among educationists to seek to make anything that is good and useful a compulsory part of youth's educational course. I should like to express on this occasion my doubts in respect of this tendency. The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of time and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial equipment. The pressure of too many subjects is not a good thing for the young brain. On the other hand, it is only when the brain is young that the capacity to think aright can be developed and correct methods of work can be implanted. To give an example, I would point out that history cannot be understood by boys and girls who have not seen or experienced much of life and its problems. The brain is a machine which should be properly assembled and adjusted during youth. Once this is done, it will take care of itself and there is plenty of time for acquiring information in all branches. The stress during youth should be on training, on creating a habit of correct observation, of scientific curiosity, and on thinking aright, and not on cramming the brain with information. The aim of education is that the pupil should acquire an automatic appreciation of values, moral and other. We do not desire to produce indoctrinated minds. That is not the democratic ideal. Totalitarians might wish to give a twist, when the mind is young, in a planned direction, but our aim should be to produce a free and faithful intellectual and moral apparatus rather than give pre-planned twists.

Again, it should be remembered that what is made

compulsory automatically induces a distaste. If you wish boys and girls to develop a permanent and unreasonable dislike to anything, make that subject a compulsory subject. If you wish that they may develop a willingness and a capacity to appreciate good literature such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, or Shakespeare, or the Bible, for God's sake, I would say to the educationists, do not make the study of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* or of Shakespeare or the Bible compulsory in the school. The lessons of both child psychology and human psychology are that mandatory and compulsory direction produces a contrary and rebellious tendency. The conditions for assimilation should be produced, and there should be no compulsion. Youth should be helped to choose good things for themselves rather than be forced and drilled.

Therefore I would suggest to educationists that less stress should be laid on examinations and more on opportunities for study and assimilation. The examination is the most bitter form of compulsion. It creates an incurable tendency towards superficiality and a paradoxical condition wherein a certain degree of equipment and dislike go together. It leaves in the successful candidate a distaste for further study, once the examination is over. If in any field the standard of attainment is better in foreign universities than in India, it is not due to stiffer examinations or to superior talents. It is the result of greater voluntary exertion on the part of teachers and pupils born of their love of work, and better facilities for study and research, rather than of any stricter or better system of examinations and rejections. It is the outcome of a condition of things in which aptitude and love of knowledge rather than irrelevant ambitions and prospects of career and employment, guide the students in their choice of studies.

There are two problems which cause great worry to our educationists, the problem of religious and moral instruction in a land of many faiths, and the problem arising out of a large variety of languages. Taking up the education of children, we see that they should be trained to love one another, to be kindly and helpful to all, to be tender to the lower animals, and to observe and think aright. The task of teaching them how to read and write and to count and calculate is important, but it should not make us lose sight of the primary aim of moulding personality in the right way. For this it is necessary to call into aid culture, tradition and religion. But in our country we have, in the same school, to look after boys and girls born in different faiths and belonging to families that live diverse ways of life and follow forms of worship associated with different denominations of religion. It will not do to tread the easy path of evading the difficulty by attending solely to physical culture and intellectual education. We have to evolve a suitable technique and method for serving the spiritual needs of school children professing different faiths. We would thereby promote an atmosphere of mutual respect, a fuller understanding and helpful co-operation among the different communities in our society. Again, we must remain one people, and we have therefore to give basic training in our schools to speak and understand more languages than one and to appreciate and respect the different religions prevailing in India. It is not right for us in India to be dissuaded from this by considerations as to over-taxing the young mind. What is necessary must be done. And it is not in fact too great a burden.

Any attempt to do away with or "steam-roll" the differences through governmental coercion and indirect pressure would be as futile as it would be unwise. Any imposition of a single way of life and form of worship on

all children, or neglect of a section of the pupils in this respect, or barren secularization, will lead to a conflict between school and home life, which is harmful. On the other hand, if we give due recognition to the different prevailing faiths in the educational institutions by organizing suitable facilities for religious teaching for boys and girls of all communities, this may itself serve as a broadening influence of great national value.

As for language, it is no good trying to impose a medium of instruction on young pupils, which is not their mother-tongue. In the past, parents preferred their children to undergo the disadvantages of the English medium because, as against the drawbacks of a foreign medium, the advantages in life of superficially Anglicised culture were great. They deliberately allowed their children to learn the language through subjects rather than subjects through the language, because facility in the use of the English language helped one very largely and covered many defects. These advantages must now soon disappear and the drawbacks in using a foreign medium will be more and more obvious as we go on. Nothing is gained by depriving young boys and girls of the advantage of the mother-tongue or some language near to it. In regions where more than one language is spoken, I see no other way but one, namely, to form sections in the mixed schools according to language. For certain purposes they may sit together, so that the advantages of both mixing and separate attention may be retained. Provided we try to solve the problems with understanding and patience, the very difficulties which we first deplore, often prove in the end to be of the greatest value for progress. What was pain and trouble becomes a source of enlightenment and joy.

I am grateful to the Chancellor and the Fellows of the University for conferring on me the highest honour in their

gift. I hope I shall ever remain worthy of the degree conferred on me today by being in all matters true to the spirit of law, which is higher than the codes that embody it. By accepting this degree, I have, so to say, gone through a ceremony of closer identification with the young friends who have received degrees at this Convocation.

Graduates, I congratulate you on your having taken your degrees. I have told you enough about the sacred duties that now devolve on you. Daily and earnest prayer and honest effort will enable one to acquire two great qualities, a sense of responsibility and an affectionate temperament. These best adorn citizenship. If our youth acquire these virtues, India will be happy and great. External courtesies will help the growth of corresponding internal feelings. Restraint in behaviour and consideration for the feelings of others are what distinguish a man of culture. Be patient and kind always. Do not give way to jealousy or the desire to boast. Be not rude. Do not always insist on having your own way. Do not allow yourself to be irritated or be resentful. Do not rejoice at wrong. Rejoice in the right. Try to bear misfortunes bravely. Show trust in others and have faith that love will prevail. This is what Paul said. This is what Gandhi said. May God bless you!

NATIONALITY AND STATE

BY DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

Since the demand for the establishment of separate and independent Muslim states in the north-west and east of India is based on the theory that Muslims constitute a separate nation, separate from the Hindus and all others who inhabit the geographical entity we call India, it is necessary to understand clearly what is meant by a nation. The fact of the geographical unity of India cannot be denied, for the simple reason that geography cannot be altered by man. From the Sulaiman Range to the hills of Assam and from the Himalayas to the sea, in spite of all its variety of races, climes and topographical details, India is one geographical unity.

What then is a nation? The question has been posed and answered by the supporters of the scheme for partition, and learned authors have been quoted in support of the answer given. Mr. Durrani, who has dealt with the point at great length, comes to some conclusions which it is worth while quoting: “(1) Though geographically India is one unity, its peoples are not, and in the making of states and nations it is the people that count and not geography. (2) Race, too, like geography, is not a determining factor either for or against the formation of nations. (3) Hindu leaders have been propagating the idea for two decades that religion should not be mixed with politics, and that a united nation should be formed on the basis of politics alone. Now, is it possible to create a nation on the basis of politics alone? Political philosophers think that purely political ties do not suffice to create a

nation.” He quotes Lord Bryce and Prof. Sidgwick in support of his thesis.

Sidgwick writes: “What is really essential to the modern conception of a state which is also a nation, is merely that the persons composing it should have, generally speaking, a consciousness of belonging to one another, of being members of one body, over and above what they derive from the fact of being under one government, so that if their government were destroyed by war or revolution, they would still tend to hold firmly together. When they have this consciousness, we regard them as forming a ‘nation’, whatever else they lack.” Lord Bryce defines nationality “as an aggregate of men drawn together and linked together by certain sentiments” and says: “The chief among these are Racial sentiment and Religious sentiment, but there is also that sense of community which is created by the use of a common language, the possession of a common literature, the recollection of common achievements or sufferings in the past, the existence of common customs and habits of thought, common ideals and aspirations. Sometimes all these linking sentiments are present and hold the members of the aggregate together; sometimes one or more may be absent. The more of these links that exist in any given case, the stronger is the sentiment of unity.” After quoting some others Mr. Durrani comes to the conclusion that “nationality is in fact a matter of consciousness only, a mere psychological condition,” and in this he is supported by Dr. Ambedkar whom he quotes. The conclusion of Mr. Durrani, therefore, is: “There is absolutely no group consciousness or consciousness of kinship between the Hindus and the Muslims. There are no social contacts between them to make possible the birth of a common group consciousness. It is, indeed, psychologically impossible for the two groups to combine to form a single united whole.”

Now this conception of nationality is, comparatively speaking, a modern and recent one, which has been developed during the last two or, at the most, three centuries. While the elements mentioned by Lord Bryce or Prof. Sidgwick are found more or less in all those groups which are regarded as constituting a nation, it is not correct to take each item by itself and see whether, and to what extent, it is present in any particular group and determine therefrom whether that particular group can be called a nation. It is the resultant of the totality of these various elements acting and reacting upon one another and the historical setting in which they have so acted and reacted that determines nationality. As Stalin has pointed out, "a Nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people" which is not necessarily "racial or tribal". It is not, also, a "casual or ephemeral conglomeration", but a "stable community of people". A common language is one of the characteristic features of a nation. And so is also a common territory. Community of economic life—economic cohesion—is one more characteristic feature. Apart from these a nation has its own special spiritual complexion, its own psychological make-up—or what is otherwise called national character—which manifests itself in a distinctive culture. "A nation," according to Stalin, "is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."

We must also draw a distinction between a State and a Nation. They are not always coterminous, and we have had in the past and have in the present living examples of multi-national states or states comprising more than one nation. Thus the English and the French in Canada, although belonging to two different national groups, constitute one state. The English and the Boers of South

Africa, after a bloody war, by agreement constituted one state. In the United States of America, people belonging to many nationalities have settled down as members of one state. The Soviet Republic of Russia comprises many nationalities which enjoy administrative autonomy and have the right to secede from the Union guaranteed by the constitution. The administrative autonomy of the constituent Republics now extends as far as the maintenance of their own armed forces and the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, conclude agreements with them, and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives. The Swiss furnish the classical illustration of peoples bearing national affinity to three nations by whom they are surrounded, viz., the French, the German and the Italian, yet constituting one single state. "It is more accurate to say that the word nationality can refer to either one of two sentiments," says C. A. Macartney, "which in their origin and their essence are absolutely distinct, although in practice the one commonly identifies itself with the other. Nationality, meaning the feeling of appurtenance to a *nation*, is fundamentally different from nationality in the sense of membership of a state. They spring from different causes; and it is perfectly possible for them to be directed towards different objects. The former, which may for convenience be called the sense of personal nationality, is founded on characteristics which are personal, often inherited, and usually objective. These characteristics exist in the individual quite independently of the locality in which he may be domiciled, whether the majority of the inhabitants share them or not, and independently of the political *régime* under which he may live, whether this be in the hands of persons possessing the same characteristics or not. The body of persons possessing these characteristics constitutes the nation." The characteristics on

which this consciousness is based vary greatly, but broadly speaking, they are covered by the *trinity of the Minority Treaties: race, language and religion.*

“Entirely different in its basis and true purpose is the state. The state is the organ by means of which the common affairs of a number of people are administered and (usually) protected; the people who collectively compose the state being, unfortunately, known in England by the same name ‘nation’ as is also applied to the quite different natural unit discussed above. The extent to which their affairs are regarded as being of common concern, and thus falling within the competence of the state to regulate, varies enormously, not only from age to age but also from country to country. In some cases it goes hardly beyond defence; in others it covers most aspects of life beyond purely private relationships. It is, however, worth remarking that those cultural attributes which go to make up the idea of personal nationality are among the very last to which most states have turned their attention and that even today they are largely considered as being no matter for state control.”

Thus while personal nationality is an important factor in the formation of a state, it is not always the sole or even the dominant factor. On the other hand, while it may be conceded that purely political ties do not suffice to create a nation, it cannot be denied that they do constitute an important factor. If a group is subject to external pressure, then that ‘pressure from without’, in the words of Julian Huxley, ‘is probably the largest single factor in the process of national evolution.’ So it has happened in India.

The question of National States has been subjected to intensive study since the end of the First World War, and much literature has grown round it. This study has been

pursued since the publication in 1934 of C. A. Macartney's authoritative book from which I have quoted at length in the preceding pages. The result of all this study has been to confirm the conclusions he arrived at, namely, that a distinction should be made between personal nationality and political nationality, that a State need not be coterminous with a nationality, that in fact the attempt to establish national states has ended in failure and created new problems, that the experience of national states and their treatment of national minorities within them has not been happy or encouraging, that the solution of the question of minorities does not lie in the direction of establishing national states, which is impossible of attainment on account of the impossibility of getting a completely homogeneous state eliminating all heterogeneous minorities, and that the solution should be sought in the multi-national state which allows freedom for all national minorities to develop their special personal nationality.

Friedmann points out that nationalism and the modern State are two forces neither identical nor necessarily parallel or allied, and emphasises the inherent self-contradiction of the ideal of the sovereign state based on national self-determination, and the impossibility of a satisfactory solution as long as the sovereign national state remains the ultimate standard of value. It seems that all serious students of the problem agree on this point. After a searching study of the problem, Macartney commends, on the basis of the experience of Soviet Russia and Great Britain, the multi-national state.

Friedmann's conclusion is that the national state, particularly if it happens to be a small state, is impossible under the present technical and mechanical development in the world. It is impossible for such a state to defend itself against aggression, even if it is able to provide more or less

adequately for the necessities of life within its borders. "An alternative solution of the dilemma of national self-determination is the multi-national state in which a powerful political union guarantees cultural autonomy to different national groups, but demands the sacrifice of political, military and economic sovereignty."

Mr. A. Cobban's study on national self-determination was issued in 1945 under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. His conclusions are the same as those of Macartney and Friedmann quoted above. He cites the example of the French and British Canadians having a common political nationality without abandoning their personal nationality, and of the various states of Spanish America having the same cultural background but divided into a number of separate political states. "Many other illustrations of the failure of cultural and political nationality to coincide might be found, and where the attempt has been made in modern times, to force them both into the same mould, the result has usually been disaster."

He further points out that nationality as a criterion of statehood furnishes only a variable standard, inasmuch as nationality varies from period to period, from country to country and even from individual to individual. It also implies homogeneity in the population of the state, which is patently not true, as the world cannot be divided into homogeneous divisions of the human race.

The confusion that has arisen between the two distinct entities, Nation and State, is due to the setting-up of national self-determination as an absolute dogma according to which every cultural group *ipso facto* is entitled to claim a separate independent state for itself. But it cannot be denied that there can be no such absolute principle and that national self-determination is just as limited as the

freedom allowed to an individual in a society by various considerations.

“ In short ”, asks Cobban, “ are there not geographical, historical, economic, and political considerations which rule out national self-determination in the form of the sovereign state for many of the smaller nationalities of the world? Even if the majority of members of a nation desire political independence, circumstances may prohibit it, and the mere desire, of however many people, will not alter them.” All these considerations prohibit any partition of India, particularly because it is impossible to draw any boundary-line separating the partitioned states without leaving at least as large a minority in the partitioned Muslim states as the Muslims constitute in the whole of India. The economic and military conditions of India dictate its continuance as a large political state and forbid its break-up into smaller independent national units. Secession is a work of destruction and can be justified not as the first but as the last step in an extreme case when all else has failed. Even if that condition has been reached in India—and no group except the Muslim League has asserted anything approaching such an extreme proposition—separation of any particular area will not solve the problem, as there will be no less than 200 or 300 lakhs of Muslims left in Hindu India and no less than 479 or 196 lakhs of non-Muslims left in the Muslim state according as areas with non-Muslim majorities are included in or excluded from the Muslim state. We must, therefore, think of a solution which is in keeping with modern thought, which does not cut across the history of centuries, which does not fly in the face of geography, which does not make the defence of the country infinitely more difficult, if not impossible, in the present-day conditions of the world.

—*India Divided*

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA

BY DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

The stories of Gautama's childhood and youth have undoubtedly a mythical air, but there is no reason to distrust the traditional accounts of his lineage. He was born in the year 563 B.C. the son of Suddhodana of the Kshatriya clan known as Sakya of Kapilavastu, on the Nepalese border one hundred miles north of Benares. The spot was afterwards marked by the emperor Asoka with a column which is still standing. His own name is Siddhartha, Gautama being his family name. The priests who were present at his birth said that he would be an emperor (*cakravartin*) if he would consent to reign; he would become a Buddha if he adopted the life of a wandering ascetic. Evidently the same individual could not be both an emperor and a Buddha, for renunciation of a worldly career was regarded as an indispensable preliminary for serious religion. There is a story of an aged seer named Asita who came to see the child, and more or less in the manner of Simeon prophesied the future greatness of the child and wept at the thought that he himself would not live to see it and hear the new gospel.

The mother died seven days after the birth of the child, and her sister Mahaprajapati, Suddhodana's second wife, brought up the baby. In due course Gautama married his cousin Yasodhara and had a son Rahula. The story that Gautama's father was particular that his son should be spared depressing experiences, and that chance or the will of the gods set in his path an old man, broken and decrepit, a sick man, a dead man, and a wandering ascetic,

which last inspired him with the desire to seek in religious life peace and serenity, indicates that Gautama was of a religious temperament and found the pleasures and ambitions of the world unsatisfying. The ideal of the mendicant life attracted him, and we hear frequently in his discourses of the "highest goal of the holy life for the sake of which clansmen leave their homes and go forth into homelessness". The efforts of his father to turn his mind to secular interests failed, and at the age of twenty-nine he left his home, put on the ascetic's garb, and started his career as a wandering seeker of truth. This was the great renunciation.

It is difficult for us in this secular age to realize the obsession of religion for the Indian mind and the ardours and agonies which it was willing to face for gaining the religious end. Gautama's search led him to become the disciple of the Brahmin ascetics Alara Kalama and Uddaka Ramaputta, who instructed him in their own doctrine (*dharma*) and discipline (*vinaya*). He possibly learnt from them the need for belief, good conduct, and the practice of meditation, though the content of their teaching seemed to him unsound. The cure for the sorrows of the world was not to be found in the endless logomachies of the speculative thinkers. Determined to attain illumination by the practice of asceticism, he withdrew with five disciples to Uruvela, 'a pleasant spot and a beautiful forest', soothing to the senses and stimulating to the mind. It is a general assumption in India that a holy life is led most easily in peaceful and beautiful landscapes which give the sense of repose and inspiration. Her temples and monasteries are on the banks of rivers or tops of hills, and all her emphasis on piety never made her forget the importance of scenery and climate for a religious life.

In this beautiful site Gautama chose to devote himself

to the severest forms of asceticism. Just as fire can be produced by friction not from damp but only from dry wood, seekers, he thought, whose passions are calmed can alone attain enlightenment. He accordingly started a series of severe fasts, practised exercises in meditation, and inflicted on himself terrible austerities. Weakness of body brought lassitude of spirit. Though during this period he often found himself at death's door, he got no glimpse into the riddle of life. He therefore decided that asceticism was not the way to enlightenment and tried to think out another way to it. He remembered how once in his youth he had an experience of mystic contemplation, and now tried to pursue that line. Legend tells us that, at this crisis, Gautama was assailed by Mara, the tempter, who sought in vain, by all manner of terrors and temptations, to shake him from his purpose. This indicates that his inner life was not undisturbed and continuous, and it was with a mental struggle that he broke away from old beliefs to try new methods. He persisted in his meditations and passed through the four stages of contemplation culminating in pure self-possession and equanimity. He saw the whole universe as a system of law, composed of striving creatures, happy or unhappy, noble or mean, continually passing away from one form of existence and taking shape in another. In the last watch of the night "ignorance was destroyed, knowledge had arisen. . . . as I sat there, earnest, strenuous, resolute". Gautama had attained *bodhi* or illumination and become the Buddha, the enlightened one.

While the Buddha was hesitating whether he should attempt to proclaim his teaching, the Scriptures say that the deity Brahma besought him to preach the truth. This means, perhaps, that as he was debating within himself as to what he should do, he received a warning somewhat similar to that delivered by the demon of Socrates against

withdrawal from life. He concludes that "the doors of immortality are open. Let them that have ears to hear show faith," and starts on his ministry. He not merely preached, which is easy, but lived the kind of life which he thought men should live. He adopted a mendicant missionary's life with all its dangers of poverty, unpopularity, and opposition. He converted in the first place the five disciples who had borne him company in the years of his asceticism, and in the deer park, "where ascetics were allowed to dwell and animals might not be killed," at the modern Sarnath, he preached his first sermon. Disciples began to flock to him. At the end of three months there were sixty, including the beloved Ananda, the companion of all his wanderings. He said to them one day: "Go now and wander for the gain of many, for the welfare of many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain and for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle and glorious in the end in the spirit and in the letter: proclaim a consummate, perfect and pure life of holiness."

The Buddha himself travelled far and wide for forty-five years and gathered many followers. Brahmins and monks, hermits and outcasts, noble ladies and repentant sinners joined the community. Much of the Buddha's activity was concerned with the instruction of his disciples and the organization of the order. In our times, he would be taken for an intellectual. When we read his discourses, we are impressed by his spirit of reason. His ethical path has for its first step right views, a rational outlook. He endeavours to brush aside all cobwebs that interfere with mankind's vision of itself and its destiny. He questions his hearers who appear full of wisdom, though really without it, challenges them to relate their empty words of vague

piety to facts. It was a period when many professed to have direct knowledge of God and said with assurance not only whether He is or is not, but also what He thinks, wills, and does. The Buddha convicts many of them of putting on spiritual airs. He declares that the teachers who talk about Brahma have not seen him face to face. They are like a man in love who cannot say who the lady is, or like one who builds a staircase without knowing where the palace is to be, or like one wishing to cross a river who should call the other side to come to him. Many of us have the religious sense and disposition but are not clear as to the object to which this sense is directed. Devotion, to be reasonable, must be founded on truth. The Buddha explains to them the significance of *brahmavihara*, or dwelling with Brahma, as a certain kind of meditation, a state of mind where love, utterly free from hatred and malice, obtains for all. It is not, of course, *Nirvana* to which the eight-fold path is the means.

In view of the variety of counsel he advised his disciples to test by logic and life the different programmes submitted to them and not to accept anything out of regard for their authors. He did not make an exception of himself. He says: "Accept not what you hear by report, accept not tradition: do not hastily conclude that 'it must be so'. Do not accept a statement on the ground that it is found in our books, nor on the supposition that 'this is acceptable', nor because it is the saying of your teacher." With a touching solicitude he begs his followers not to be hampered in their thought by the prestige of his name. "Such faith have I, Lord," said Sariputta, "that methinks there never has been nor will be nor is now any other greater or wiser than the Blessed one." "Of course, Sariputta," is the reply, "you have known all the Buddhas of the past?" "No, Lord." "Well, then, you know those of the future?"

“No, Lord.” “Then at least you know me and have penetrated my mind thoroughly?” “Not even that, Lord.” “Then why, Sariputta, are your words so grand and bold?” There is nothing esoteric about his teaching. He speaks with scorn of those who profess to have secret truths. “O. disciples, there are three to whom secrecy belongs and not openness. Who are they? Secrecy belongs to women, not openness; secrecy belongs to priestly wisdom, not openness; secrecy belongs to false doctrine, not openness. . . . The doctrines and the rules proclaimed by the perfect Buddha shine before all the world and not in secret.” Speaking to his disciple Ananda shortly before his death, the Buddha says: “I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the truths, Ananda, the Tathagata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who keeps some things back.” In many of his discourses he is represented as arguing with his interlocutors in a more or less Socratic manner, and persuading them insensibly to accept positions different from those from which they started. He would not let his adherents refuse the burden of spiritual liberty. They must not abandon the search for truth by accepting an authority. They must be free men able to be a light and a help to themselves. He continues: “Be ye as those who have the self as their light. Be ye as those who have the self as their refuge. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as to a refuge.” The highest seat of authority is the voice of the spirit in us.

There is little of what we call dogma in the Buddha's teaching. With a breadth of view rare in that age and not common in ours, he refuses to stifle criticism. Intolerance seemed to him the greatest enemy of religion. Once he entered a public hall and found some of his disciples talking of a Brahmin who had just been accusing Gautama

of impiety and finding fault with the order of mendicants he had founded. "Brethren," said Gautama, "if others speak against me, or against my religion, or against the Order, there is no reason why you should be angry, discontented or displeased with them. If you are so, you will not only bring yourselves into danger of spiritual loss, but you will not be able to judge whether what they say is correct or not"—a most enlightened sentiment, even after 2,500 years of energetic enlightenment. Doctrines are not more or less true simply because they happen to flatter or wound our prejudices. There was no paradox however strange, no heresy however extreme, that the Buddha was unwilling or afraid to consider. He was sure that the only way to meet the confusion and extravagance of the age was by patient sifting of opinions and by helping men to rebuild their lives on a foundation of reason. He denounced unfair criticism of other creeds. "It is", he said, "as a man who looks up and spits at heaven; the spittle does not soil the heaven, but comes back and defiles his own person."

There was never an occasion when the Buddha flamed forth in anger, never an incident when an unkind word escaped his lips. He had vast tolerance for his kind. He thought of the world as ignorant rather than wicked, as unsatisfactory rather than rebellious. He meets opposition with calm and confidence. There is no nervous irritability or fierce anger about him. His conduct is the perfect expression of courtesy and good feeling with a spice of irony in it. On one of his rounds he was repulsed by a householder with bitter words of abuse. He replied: "Friend, if a householder sets food before a beggar, but the beggar refuses to accept the food, to whom does the food then belong?" The man replied: "Why, to the householder of course." The Buddha said: "Then, if I refuse to accept

your abuse and ill will, it returns to you, does it not? But I must go away the poorer because I have lost a friend." Conversion by compulsion was unknown to him. Practice, not belief, is the foundation of his system. He wished to create a temper and a habit. We are unhappy because of our foolish desires. To make ourselves happy all that is necessary is to make ourselves a new heart and see with new eyes. If we suppress evil thoughts and cultivate good ones, a bad and unhappy mind can be made into a good and happy one. The Buddha is not concerned with changes of creed. He sits by the sacred fire of a Brahmin and gives a discourse on his views without denouncing his worship. When Siha, the Jain, becomes a Buddhist, he is required to give food and gifts as before to the Jain monks who frequent his house. With a singular gentleness he presents his views and leaves the rest to the persuasive power of truth.

The great hero of moral achievement is frequently called upon to decide trivial matters of monastic discipline. To found an organization is to come to terms with the world and concede to social needs. It is to provide a refuge for those who are not quite at home in the ordinary life of society. There were troubles within the Order. Gautama's cousin, Devadatta, wished to supersede him as the head of the Order and plotted against him, but he was forgiven. On one occasion the Buddha found a monk suffering from dysentery and lying in filth. He washed him and changed his bed with the help of his companion Ananda and said to his disciples: "Whoever, O monks, would nurse me should nurse the sick man". There were no distinctions of caste in the Buddhist Order. "Just as, O monks, the great rivers such as the Ganges, the Sindhu and the Yamuna, when they fall into the ocean lose their former names and are known as the ocean, even so do the four castes of Ksatriyas, Brahmins, Vaisyas, and Sudras,

when they have gone forth in the Doctrine and Discipline taught by the Tathagata from a home to a homeless life, lose their former names and clans (*namagotra*) and are known as ascetics."

In his time women were not secluded in India, and he declared that they were quite capable of attaining sanctity and holiness. In the last year of his life he dined with the courtesan Ambapali. But he had considerable hesitation in admitting women to the Order. "How, Lord, are we to conduct ourselves with regard to womankind?" "Don't see them, Ananda." "But if we see them, what are we to do?" "Abstain from speech." "But if they should speak to us, what are we to do?" "Keep wide awake." Ananda was quite chivalrous, pleaded the cause of women for admission into the Order, and won the consent of the master. It was the right course but perhaps not quite expedient. "If, Ananda, women had not received permission to enter the Order, the pure religion would have lasted long, the good law would have stood fast a thousand years. But since they have received that permission, it will now stand fast for only five hundred years." For a woman entry into the religious Order required the assent of the relatives, while a man was, at least in theory, at his own disposal. But the rules of the Order were by no means final. The Buddha says: "When I am gone, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts."

The story of his death is told with great pathos and simplicity. The Buddha was now eighty years old, worn out with toil and travel. At a village near the little town of Kusinagara, about 120 miles north-east of Benares, in 483 B.C., he passed away. The quiet end of the Buddha contrasts vividly with the martyrs' deaths of Socrates and Jesus. All three undermined, in different degrees, the orthodoxies of their time. As a matter of fact, the Buddha

was more definitely opposed to Vedic orthodoxy and ceremonialism than was Socrates to the State religion of Athens¹ or Jesus to Judaism, and yet he lived till eighty, gathered a large number of disciples, and founded a religious Order in his own lifetime. Perhaps the Indian temper of religion is responsible for the difference in the treatment of unorthodoxies.

—*Gautama the Buddha:*

¹Xenophon says that Socrates 'was frequently seen sacrificing at home and on the public altars of the city'.

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

BY SIR CHANDRASEKHARA V. RAMAN

As has been remarked by Robert Louis Stevenson in a charming little essay on this subject, it is scarcely possible to speak of books that have influenced one without finding oneself engaged on an autobiographical essay of a sort. A man's outlook on the problems of life is necessarily moulded by the influences to which he has been subject, and especially by the influences brought to bear on him at an impressionable age. The share which books have had in shaping his mental outlook and ultimately also his career in life, is, I fancy, a highly variable one, and to no small extent dependent on the person's environment at home and at school in his early days. Indeed, a good home and a good school may be judged by the kind of books they put in the way of the growing young person for him to feed his mind and his emotions upon. I believe it is the exception rather than the rule for the books which are formally taught at school and at college to exercise any profound influence on the mind of the student. The element of compulsion introduced in the prescription of books for study is usually fatal to that attitude of mind which is necessary for the full appreciation of their contents. It is the books the merits of which you have, so to say, discovered for yourself, that really influence you.

The failure to recognise this elementary fact of human psychology, namely, the antithesis between choice and compulsion, is responsible for the unfruitful character of a vast amount of scholastic effort in the way of both teaching and learning. I can tell you here a story about myself or

rather against myself in this connection. Forty-five years ago, a well-meaning University prescribed Robert Louis Stevenson's well-known story *Kidnapped* as an English text for the First Arts course. I do not remember the precise number of times this text was taught or lectured upon in class, or the precise number of times I read through the book during the two years' course of study for the examination. The copy I purchased and used disappeared in due course. One evening, a couple of years ago, a copy of Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, beautifully printed and bound, caught my eye at a railway bookstall. I was tempted to buy it and took it home and started reading the book before going to bed. Believe it or not, the story, or rather the manner of its telling, gripped me so powerfully that I had to finish reading the whole book at a sitting before retiring for the night. I had, so to say, discovered Stevenson's magic charm of writing for myself. Since then I have read everything that Stevenson wrote with the keenest enjoyment.

I finished my school and college career and my University examinations at the age of eighteen. In this short span of years had been compressed the study of four languages and of a great variety of diverse subjects, in several cases up to the highest University standards. A list of all the volumes I had to study would be of terrifying length. Did these books influence me? Yes, in the narrow sense of making me tolerably familiar with subjects, so diverse as ancient Greek and Roman History, modern Indian and European History, Formal Logic, Economics, Monetary Theory and Public Finance, the later Sanskrit writers and the minor English authors, to say nothing of Physiography, Chemistry and a dozen branches of Pure and Applied Mathematics, and of Experimental and Theoretical Physics. But out of all this welter of subjects and books, can I pick

out anything that helped really to mould my mental and spiritual outlook and determine my chosen path in life? Yes, I can and I shall mention three books.

A purposeful life needs an axis or hinge to which it is firmly fixed and yet around which it can freely revolve. As I see it, this axis or hinge has been, in my own case, strangely enough, not the love of science nor even the love of Nature, but a certain abstract idealism or belief in the value of the human spirit and the virtue of human endeavour and achievement. The nearest point to which I can trace the source of this idealism is my recollection of reading Edwin Arnold's great book, *The Light of Asia*. I remember being powerfully moved by the story of Siddhartha's great renunciation, of his search for truth and of his final enlightenment. This was at a time when I was young enough to be impressionable, and the reading of the book fixed firmly in my mind the idea that this capacity for renunciation in the pursuit of exalted aims is the very essence of human greatness. This is not an unfamiliar idea to us in India, but it is not easy to live up to it. It has always seemed to me a surprising and regrettable fact that the profound teaching of the Buddha has not left a deeper and stronger impress on the life of our country of which he was the greatest son that ever lived.

The next of the books that I have to mention is one of the most remarkable works of all time, namely, *The Elements* of Euclid. Familiarity with some parts of Euclid and a certain dislike to its formalism have dethroned this great work from the apparently unassailable position which it occupied in the esteem of the learned world for an almost incredibly long period of time. Indeed, my own early reactions to the compulsory study of Euclid were anything but favourable. The reason for this is, I think, to be found in the excessive emphasis placed on the subject as an in-

tellectual discipline and the undue attention given to details as distinguished from its broader aspects. To put it a little differently, the student of Euclid is invited to look at the trees and to examine their branches and twigs so minutely that he ceases even to be conscious of the existence of the wood. The real value of Geometry appears when we consider it as a whole, not merely as the science of the properties of straight lines, triangles, and circles, but also of everything else—curves, figures, and solids of all kinds. Thus regarded, Geometry makes a profound appeal both to our senses and to our intellect. Indeed, of all branches of Mathematics, it is that which links most closely what we see with the eye with what we perceive by reasoning. The ancient Greeks had a fine sense of the value of intellectual discipline; they had also a fine sense of the beautiful. They loved Geometry just because it had both these appeals. In my early years, it was a great struggle for me to learn to overcome my dislike to the formalism of Euclid and gradually to perceive the fascination and beauty of the subject. Not until many years later, however, did I fully appreciate the central position of Geometry in relation to all natural knowledge. I can illustrate this relationship by a thousand examples but will content myself with remarking that every mineral found in Nature, every crystal made by man, every leaf, flower or fruit that we see growing, every living thing from the smallest to the largest that walks on earth, flies in the air or swims in the waters or lives deep down on the ocean floor, speaks aloud of the fundamental role of Geometry in Nature. The pages of Euclid are like the opening bars of the music in the grand opera of Nature's great drama. So to say, they lift the veil and show to our vision a glimpse of a vast world of natural knowledge awaiting study.

Of all the great names in the world of learning that

have come down to us from the remote past, that of Archimedes, by common consent, occupies the foremost place. Speaking of the modern world, the supremest figure, in my judgment, is that of Hermann von Helmholtz. In the range and depth of his knowledge, in the clearness and profundity of his scientific vision, he easily transcended all other names I could mention, even including Isaac Newton. Rightly he has been described as the intellectual Colossus of the nineteenth century. It was my great good fortune, while I was still a student at college, to have possessed a copy of an English translation of his great work on *The Sensations of Tone*. As is well known, this was one of Helmholtz's masterpieces. It treats the subject of music and musical instruments not only with profound knowledge and insight, but also with extreme clarity of language and expression. I discovered this book for myself and read it with the keenest interest and attention. It can be said without exaggeration that it profoundly influenced my intellectual outlook. For the first time, I understood from its perusal what scientific research really meant and how it could be carried on. I also gathered from it a variety of problems for research which were later to occupy my attention and keep me busy for many years. Helmholtz had written yet another great masterpiece entitled *The Physiology of Vision*. Unfortunately this was not available to me, as it had not then been translated into the English language.

—*Books That Have Influenced Me*

THE SUCCESS OF NON-VIOLENCE*

BY PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Mr. President, I am deeply grateful to this great University and to you, Sir, for the honour you have done me in inviting me today and in conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

It is an honour to be associated with this University and with the many men of learning and seekers after truth assembled here, and I shall treasure it. To have that signal honour conferred upon me by one who has played such a distinguished part in both war and peace, adds to its value.

I have come to you not so much in my capacity as Prime Minister of a great country or as a politician, but rather as a humble seeker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find a way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that I have held. That process is always difficult, but becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion today.

Politicians have to deal with day-to-day problems and they seek immediate remedies. Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day-to-day work and its problems. Neither approach appears to be adequate by itself. Is it possible to combine these two approaches and function after the manner of Plato's philosopher-kings?

You, Sir, have had the experience of the rôle of a great

* Address delivered at a Special Convocation of Columbia University, held to confer the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in November, 1949.

man of action and also of that of a philosopher as the head of this University, and should be able to help us to answer this question.

In this world of incessant and feverish activity men have little time to think, and much less to consider ideals and objectives; yet how are we to act even in the present unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are?

It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a University that these problems can be adequately considered.

It is only when the young men and women who are in the University today, and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards of value that there is any hope for the next generation.

The past generation produced some great men, but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster. Two world wars are the price that has been paid for the lack of wisdom on man's part in this generation. It is a terrible price, and the tragedy of it is that even after that price was paid we have not purchased real peace nor a cessation of conflict, and an even deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues the same way which had led previously to disaster.

We have had wars and we have had a victory ; yet what is victory and how do we measure it?

A war is fought usually to gain certain objectives. The defeat of the enemy is not by itself an objective but rather the removal of an obstruction towards the attainment of the objective. If that objective is not attained, then that victory over the enemy brings only negative relief and, indeed, is no real victory.

We have seen, however, that the aim in wars is almost entirely to defeat the enemy, and that the other and real

objective is often forgotten. The result has been that the victory attained by defeating the enemy has only been a very partial one and has not solved the real problem, or if it has solved the immediate problem, it has at the same time given rise to many other and, sometimes, worse problems. Therefore, it becomes necessary to have the real objective clear in our minds at all times, whether in war or in peace, and always to aim at achieving that objective.

I think also that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right but the means is wrong, that will vitiate the end or divert it into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That, indeed, has been the lesson taught us by many great men in the past, but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you not because they are novel, but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of incessant activity and conflict, and enforced leisure.

The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means to ends. We are not worthy of him and yet, to the best of our ability, we try to follow his teaching. Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teaching yielded rich results. After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success, and perhaps the most significant part of that achievement, for which credit is due to both parties, was the manner of it. History hardly affords a parallel to this solution of such a conflict in a peaceful way, followed by friendly and co-operative relations. It is astonishing how

rapidly bitterness and ill-will between the nations have faded away and given place to co-operation, and we in India have decided of our own free will to continue this co-operation as an independent nation.

I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way, but may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful evolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world today?

That evolution demonstrates to us that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny, and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance. Past history shows us the important part that physical force has played, but it also shows us that no such force can ultimately ignore the moral forces of the world, and if it attempts to do so, it does so at its peril. Today this problem faces us in all its intensity because the weapons that physical force has at its disposal are terrible to contemplate.

Must the twentieth century differ from primitive barbarism only in the destructive efficacy of the weapons that man's ingenuity has invented for man's destruction?

I do believe, in accordance with my master's teaching, that there is another way to meet this situation that faces us.

I realize that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of abstract truth. His activity is always limited by the degree of receptivity of the truth by his fellowmen. Nevertheless, the basic truth remains and is always to be kept in view and, so far as possible, it should guide our actions. Otherwise, we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.

India is a very old country with a great past. But it is a new country also, with new urges and desires. Since

August, 1947, she has been in a position to pursue her own foreign policy. She was limited by the realities of the situation which she could not ignore or overcome. But even so she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. She has tried to adapt, however imperfectly, theory to reality in so far as she could. In the family of nations she was a newcomer and could not influence them greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources which no doubt would increase power and influence.

A greater advantage lay in the fact that she was not fettered by the past, by old enmities or old ties, by historic claims or traditional rivalries. Even against her former rulers there was no bitterness left. Thus, India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed. Inevitably she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self-interest, but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism. Thus she has tried to combine idealism with national interest.

The main objectives of that policy are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major Power or group of Powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue: the liberation of subject peoples: the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual: the elimination of racial discrimination: and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

I am asked frequently why India does not align herself with any particular nation or group of nations, and told that because we have refrained from doing so, we are sitting on the fence. The question and the comment are easily understandable, because in times of crisis it is not unnatural for those who are involved in it deeply to regard calm objectivity

in others as other than irresponsible, short-sighted, negative, unreal, or even unmanly. But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and vital policy, which flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi.

Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop, but it is also of paramount importance to the world. How can that peace be preserved? Not by compromising with evil or injustice: but also not by talking of and preparing for war.

Aggression has to be met, for it endangers peace. At the same time the lesson of the last war has to be remembered, and it seems to me astonishing that in spite of that lesson we go the same way. The very process of marshalling the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it is sought to avoid. It produces also a terrible fear. That fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous in life as fear. As a great President of the United States said, "There is nothing really to fear except fear itself."

Our problem, therefore, becomes one of lessening and, ultimately, putting an end to this fear. That will not happen if all the world takes sides and talks of war. War becomes almost certain then. We are a member of the family of nations, and we have no wish to shirk any of the obligations and burdens of that membership. We have accepted fully the obligations of membership of the U. N. and intend to abide by them. We wish to make our full contribution to the common store and to render our full measure of service. But that can only be done effectively in our own way and of our own choice. We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy both on the political and economic planes, for no

democracy can exist long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality.

Our immediate needs are for economic betterment and raising the standards of our people. The more we succeed in this, the more we can serve the cause of peace in the world. We are fully aware of our weaknesses and failings, and claim no superior virtue, but we do not wish to forfeit the advantage that our present detachment gives us, and we believe that the maintenance of that detachment is not only in our interest but also in the interest of world peace and freedom. That detachment is neither isolationism nor indifference nor neutrality when peace or freedom is threatened. When man's liberty or peace is in danger we cannot and shall not be neutral; neutrality, then, will be a betrayal of what we have fought for and stand for.

If we seek to ensure peace, we must attack the root causes of war and not merely the symptoms. What are the underlying causes of war in the modern world?

One of the basic causes is the domination of one country by another, or the attempt to dominate. Large parts of Asia were ruled till recently by foreign and chiefly European Powers. We ourselves were part of the British Empire, as were also Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. France, Holland and Portugal still have territories over which they rule. But the rising tide of nationalism and the love of independence have submerged most of the Western Empires in Asia. In Indonesia, I hope that there will soon be an independent, sovereign State. We hope also that French Indo-China will achieve freedom and peace before long under a Government of its own choice. Much of Africa, however, is subject to foreign Powers, some of whom still attempt to enlarge their dominions. It is clear that all remaining vestiges of imperialism and colonialism will have to disappear.

Secondly, there is the problem of racial relations.

The progress of some races in knowledge or in invention, their success in war and conquest, have tempted them to believe that they are racially superior and have led them to treat other nations with contempt. A recent example of this was the horrible attempt, so largely successful, to exterminate the Jews. In Asia and Africa, racial superiority has been most openly and most insolently exhibited. It is forgotten that nearly all the great religions of mankind arose in the East and that wonderful civilizations grew up there when Europe and America were still unknown to history.

The West has too often despised the Asian and the African and still in many places denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindness. This is one of the great danger points in our modern world; and now that Asia and Africa are shaking off their torpor and arousing themselves, out of this evil may come a conflagration of which no man can see the range or consequences.

One of your greatest men said that this country cannot exist half slave and half free. The world cannot long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised. The problem is not always simple, nor can it be solved by a resolution or a decree; but unless there is a firm and sincere determination to solve it, there will be no peace.

The third reason for war and revolution is the misery and want of millions of persons in many countries, and in particular in Asia and Africa. In the West, though the war has brought misery and many difficulties, the common man generally lives in some measure of comfort—he has food, clothes, shelter to some extent. The basic problem of the East, therefore, is to obtain these necessities of life. If they are lacking, then there is the apathy of despair or the destructive rage of the revolutionary.

Political subjection, racial inequality, economic inequality and misery—these are the evils which we have to remove if we would ensure peace. If we can offer no remedy, then other cries and slogans make an appeal to the minds of the people.

Many of the countries of Asia have entered the family of nations; others, we hope, will soon find a place in this circle. We have the same hopes for the countries of Africa. The change should proceed rapidly, and America and Europe should use their great influence and power to facilitate it. We see before us vast changes taking place not only in the political and economic spheres, but even more so in the minds of men. Asia is becoming dynamic again and is passionately eager to progress and raise the economic standards of her vast masses. This awakening of a giant continent is of the greatest importance to the future of mankind and requires imaginative statesmanship of a high order.

The problems of this awakening will not be solved by looking at it with fear or in a spirit of isolationism by any of us. It requires a friendly and understanding approach, clear objectives and a common effort to realize them. The colossal expenditure of energy and resources on armaments, that is an outstanding feature of many national Budgets today, does not solve the problem of world peace. Perhaps even a fraction of that outlay in other ways and for other purposes will provide a more enduring basis for peace and happiness.

That is India's view, offered in all friendliness to all thinking men and women, to all persons of goodwill, in the name of our common humanity. That view is not based on wishful thinking, but on a deep consideration of the problems that afflict us all, and on its merits I venture to place it before you.

THE QUEST

BY PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

What is this India, apart from her physical and geographical aspects? What did she represent in the past; what gave strength to her then? How did she lose that old strength? And has she lost it completely? Does she represent anything vital now, apart from being the home of a vast number of human beings? How does she fit into the modern world?

This wider international aspect of the problem grew upon me as I realized more and more how isolation was both undesirable and impossible. The future that took shape in my mind was one of intimate co-operation, political, economical, cultural, between India and the other countries of the world. But before the future came, there was the present, and behind the present lay the long and tangled past, out of which the present had grown. So to the past I looked for understanding.

India was in my blood, and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. And yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that I saw. To some extent I came to her *via* the West and looked at her as a friendly westerner might have done. I was eager and anxious to change her outlook and appearance and give her the garb of modernity. And yet doubts rose within me. Did I know India, I who presumed to scrap much of her past heritage? There was a great deal that had to be scrapped, that must be scrapped; but surely India could not have been what she undoubtedly was, and could not have con-

tinued a cultured existence for thousands of years, if she had not possessed something very vital and enduring, something that was worth while. What was this something?

I stood on a mound of Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley in the north-west of India, and all around me lay the houses and streets of this ancient city that is said to have existed over five thousand years ago; and even then it was an old and well-developed civilization. "The Indus civilization," writes Professor Childe, "represents a very perfect adjustment of human life to a specific environment that can only have resulted from years of patient effort. And it has endured; it is already specifically Indian and forms the basis of modern Indian culture." Astonishing thought: that any culture or civilization should have this continuity for five or six thousand years or more; and not in a static, unchanging sense, for India was changing and progressing all the time. She was coming into intimate contact with the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Arabs, the Central Asians, and the peoples of the Mediterranean. But though she influenced them and was influenced by them, her cultural basis was strong enough to endure. What was the secret of this strength? Where did it come from?

I read her history and read also a part of her abundant ancient literature and was powerfully impressed by the vigour of the thought, the clarity of the language and the richness of the mind that lay behind it. I journeyed through India in the company of mighty travellers from China and Western and Central Asia who came here in the remote past and left records of their travels. I thought of what India had accomplished in eastern Asia, in Angkor, Borobudur and many other places. I wandered over the Himalayas, which are closely connected with old myth and legend and which have so much influenced our thought

and literature. My love of the mountains and my kinship with Kashmir especially drew me to them, and I saw there not only the life and vigour and beauty of the present but also the memoried loveliness of ages past. The mighty rivers of India that flow from this great mountain barrier into the plains of India attracted me and reminded me of innumerable phases of our history. The Indus or Sindhu, from which our country came to be called India and Hindustan, and across which races and tribes and caravans and armies have come for thousands of years; the Brahmaputra, rather cut off from the main current of history but living in old story, forcing its way into India through deep chasms cut in the heart of the north-eastern mountains, and then flowing calmly in a gracious sweep between mountain and wooded plain; the Jumna, round which cluster so many legends of dance and fun and play; and the Ganga, above all the rivers of India, which has held India's heart captive and has drawn uncounted millions to her banks since the dawn of history. The story of the Ganga, from her source to the sea, from old times to new, is the story of India's civilization and culture, of the rise and fall of empires, of great and proud cities, of the adventure of man and the quest of the mind which has so occupied India's thinkers, of the richness and fulfilment of life as well as its denial and renunciation, of ups and downs, and growth and decay, of life and death.

I visited old monuments and ruins and ancient sculptures and frescoes—Ajanta, Ellora, the Elephanta Caves and other places—and I also saw the lovely buildings of a later age in Agra and Delhi where every stone told the story of India's past.

In my own city of Allahabad and in Hardwar I would go to the great bathing festivals, the *Kumbh Mela*, and see hundreds of thousands of people come, as their forebears

had come for thousands of years from all over India, to bathe in the Ganga. I would remember descriptions of these festivals written thirteen hundred years ago by Chinese pilgrims and others, and even then these *melas* were ancient and lost in an unknown antiquity. What was the tremendous faith, I wondered, that had drawn our people for untold generations to this famous river of India?

These journeys and visits of mine, with the background of my reading, gave me an insight into the past. To a somewhat bare intellectual understanding was added an emotional appreciation, and gradually a sense of reality began to creep into my mental picture of India, and the land of my forefathers became peopled with living beings, who had loved and suffered, laughed and wept; and among them were men who seemed to know life and understand it, and out of their wisdom they had built a structure which gave India a cultural stability which lasted for thousands of years. Hundreds of vivid pictures of this past filled my mind, and they would stand out as soon as I visited a particular place associated with them. At Sarnath, near Benares, I would almost see the Buddha preaching his first sermon, and some of his recorded words would come like a distant echo to me through two thousand and five hundred years. Ashoka's pillars of stone with their inscriptions would speak to me in their magnificent language and tell me of a man who, though an emperor, was greater than any king or emperor. At Fatehpur-Sikri, Akbar, forgetful of his empire, was seated holding converse and debate with the learned of all faiths, curious to learn something new and seeking an answer to the eternal problem of man.

Thus slowly the long panorama of India's history unfolded itself before me, with its ups and downs, its triumphs and defeats. There seemed to me something unique about

the continuity of a cultural tradition through five thousand years of history, of invasion and upheaval, a tradition which was widespread among the masses and powerfully influenced them. Only China has had such a continuity of tradition and cultural life.

My reaction to India thus was often an emotional one, though this was conditioned and limited in many ways. It was the reaction which takes the form of nationalism, though in the case of many people those conditioning and limiting factors are absent. Nationalism was and is inevitable in the India of my day; it is a natural and healthy growth.

Recent events all over the world have demonstrated that the notion that nationalism was fading away before the impact of internationalism and proletarian movements had little truth. It is still one of the most powerful urges that move a people, and round it cluster sentiments and traditions and a sense of common living and common purpose. While the intellectual strata of the middle classes were gradually moving away from nationalism, or so they thought, labour and proletarian movements, deliberately based on internationalism, were drifting towards nationalism. The coming of war swept everybody everywhere into the net of nationalism. This remarkable resurgence of nationalism, or rather a re-discovery of it and a new realization of its vital significance, has raised new problems and altered the form and shape of old problems. Old-established traditions cannot be easily scrapped or dispensed with; in moments of crisis they rise up and dominate the minds of men, and often, as we have seen, a deliberate attempt is made to use those traditions to rouse up a people to a high pitch of effort and sacrifice. Traditions have to be accepted to a large extent and adapted and transformed to meet new conditions and ways of thought, and at the

same time new traditions have to be built up. The nationalist ideal is deep and strong; it is not a thing of the past with no future significance. But other ideals, more based on the ineluctable facts of today, have arisen, the international ideal and the proletarian ideal, and there must be some kind of fusion of these various ideals if we are to have a world equilibrium and a lessening of conflict. The abiding appeal of nationalism to the spirit of man has to be recognized and provided for, but its sway limited to a narrower sphere.

If nationalism is still so universal in its influence, even in countries powerfully affected by new ideas and international forces, how much more must it dominate the mind of India! Sometimes we are told that our nationalism is a sign of our backwardness and even our demand for independence indicated our narrow-mindedness. But India, for all her intense nationalistic fervour, has gone further than many nations in her acceptance of real internationalism and the co-ordination, and even to some extent the subordination, of the independent nation state to a world organization.

The search for the sources of India's strength and of her deterioration and decay is long and intricate. Yet the recent causes of that decay are obvious enough. She fell behind in the march of technique, and Europe, which had long been backward in many matters, took the lead in technical progress. Behind this technical progress was the spirit of science and a bubbling life and spirit which displayed itself in many activities and in adventurous voyages of discovery. New techniques gave military strength to the countries of western Europe, and it was easy for them to spread out and dominate the East. That is the story not of India only but of almost the whole of Asia.

Why this should have happened so is more difficult to

unravel, for India was not lacking in mental alertness and technical skill in earlier times. One senses a progressive deterioration during centuries. The urge to life and endeavour becomes less, the creative spirit fades away and gives place to the imitative. Where triumphant and rebellious thought had tried to pierce the mysteries of nature and the universe, the wordy commentator comes with his glosses and long explanations. Magnificent art and sculpture give way to a meticulous carving of intricate detail without nobility of conception or design. The vigour and richness of language, powerful yet simple, are followed by highly ornate and complex literary forms. The urge to adventure and the overflowing life which led to vast schemes of distant colonization and the transplantation of Indian culture in far-off lands, fade away, and a narrow orthodoxy taboos even the crossing of the high seas. A rational spirit of inquiry, so evident in earlier times, which might well have led to the further growth of science, is replaced by irrationalism and a blind idolatry of the past. Indian life becomes a sluggish stream, living in the past, moving slowly through the accumulations of dead centuries. The heavy burden of the past crushes it and a kind of coma seizes it. It is not surprising that in this condition of mental stupor and physical weariness India should have deteriorated and remained rigid and immobile while other parts of the world marched ahead.

Yet this is not a wholly correct or complete survey. If there had only been a long and unrelieved period of rigidity and stagnation, this might well have resulted in a complete break with the past, the death of an era, and the erection of something new on its ruins. There has not been such a break and there is a definite continuity. Also from time to time vivid flashes of renaissance have occurred, and some of them have been long and brilliant. Always there is

visible an attempt to understand and adapt the new and harmonize it with the old, or at any rate with parts of the old which were considered worth preserving. Often that old retains an external form only, as a kind of symbol, and changes its inner content. But something vital and living continued, some urge driving the people in a direction not wholly realized, always a desire for synthesis between the old and the new. I feel that anything that had the power to mould hundreds of generations, without a break, must have drawn its enduring vitality from some deep well of strength, and have had the capacity to renew that vitality from age to age.

And if so, did it dry up, or did it have hidden springs to replenish it? What of today? Are there any springs still functioning from which we can refresh and strengthen ourselves? We are an old race, or rather an odd mixture of many races, and our racial memories go back to the dawn of history. Have we had our day and are now living in the late afternoon or evening of our existence, just carrying on after the manner of the aged, quiescent, devitalized, uncreative, desiring peace and sleep above all else?

No people, no race continues unchanged. Continually it is mixing with others and slowly changing; it may appear to die almost and then rise again as a new people or just a variation of the old. There may be a definite break between the old people and the new, or vital links of thought and ideals may join them.

History has numerous instances of old and well-established civilizations fading away or being ended suddenly, and vigorous new cultures taking their place. Is it some vital energy, some inner source of strength that gives life to a civilization or a people, and without it all effort is ineffective like the vain attempt of an aged person to play the part of a youth?

Among the peoples of the world today I have sensed this vital energy chiefly in three—the Americans, the Russians, and the Chinese, a queer combination! The Americans, in spite of having their roots in the old world, are a new people, uninhibited and without the burdens and complexes of old races, and it is easy to understand their abounding vitality. So also are the Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders, all of them largely cut off from the old world and facing life in all its newness.

The Russians are not a new people, and yet there has been a complete break from the old, like that of death, and they have been reincarnated anew, in a manner for which there is no example in history. They have become youthful again with an energy and vitality that are amazing. They are searching for some of their old roots again, but for all practical purposes they are a new people, a new race and a new civilization.

The Russian example shows how a people can revitalize itself, become youthful again, if it is prepared to pay the price for it, and tap the springs of suppressed strength and energy among the masses. Perhaps this war, with all its horror and frightfulness, might result in the rejuvenation of other peoples also, such as survive the holocaust.

The Chinese stand apart from all these. They are not a new race, nor have they gone through that shock of change, from top to bottom, which came to Russia. Undoubtedly seven years of cruel war have changed them, as they must. How far it is due to this war or to more abiding causes I do not know, or whether it is a mixture of the two, but the vitality of the Chinese people astonishes me. I cannot imagine a people endowed with such bed-rock strength going under.

Something of that vitality which I saw in China, I have sensed at times in the Indian people also, but not always.

Anyway it is difficult for me to take an objective view. Perhaps my wishes distort my thinking. But always I was in search for this in my wanderings among the Indian people. If they had this vitality, then it was well with them and they would make good. If they lacked it completely, then our political efforts and shouting were all make-believe and would not carry us far. I was not interested in making some political arrangement which would enable our people to carry on more or less as before, only a little better. I felt they had vast stores of suppressed energy and ability, and I wanted to release these and make them feel young and vital again. India, constituted as she is, cannot play a secondary part in the world. She will either count for a great deal or not count at all. No middle position attracted me. Nor did I think any intermediate position tenable.

Behind the past quarter of a century's struggle for India's independence, lay in my mind, and in that of many others, the desire to revitalize India. We felt that through action and self-imposed suffering and sacrifice, through voluntarily facing risk and danger, through refusal to submit to what we considered evil and wrong, we would re-charge the battery of India's spirit and waken her from her long slumber. Though we came into conflict continually with the British Government in India, our eyes were always turned towards our own people. Political advantage had value only in so far as it helped in that fundamental purpose of ours. Because of this governing motive, frequently we acted as no politician, moving in the narrow sphere of politics only, would have done, and foreign and Indian critics expressed surprise at the folly and intransigence of our ways. Whether we were foolish or not, the historians of the future will judge. We aimed high and looked far. Probably we were often foolish from the point of view of opportunist politics, but at no time

did we forget that our main purpose was to raise the whole level of the Indian people, psychologically and spiritually and also, of course, politically and economically. It was the building up of that real inner strength of the people that we were after, knowing that the rest would inevitably follow.

Though books and old monuments and past cultural achievements helped to produce some understanding of India, they did not satisfy me or give me the answer I was looking for. Nor could they, for they dealt with a past age, and I wanted to know if there was any real connection between that past and the present. The present for me, and for many others like me, was an odd mixture of medievalism, appalling poverty and misery and a somewhat superficial modernism of the middle classes. I was not an admirer of my own class or kind, and yet inevitably I looked to it for leadership in the struggle for India's salvation. That middle class felt caged and circumscribed and wanted to grow and develop itself. Unable to do so within the framework of British rule, a spirit of revolt grew against this rule, and yet this spirit was not directed against the structure that crushed us. It sought to retain it and control it by displacing the British. These middle classes were too much the product of that structure to challenge it and seek to uproot it.

New forces arose that drove us to the masses in the villages, and, for the first time, a new and different India rose up before the young intellectuals who had almost forgotten its existence or attached little importance to it. It was a disturbing sight, not only because of its stark misery and the magnitude of its problems, but because it began to upset some of our values and conclusions. So began for us the discovery of India as it was, and it produced both understanding and conflict within us. Our reactions varied and depended on our previous environment and

experience. Some were already sufficiently acquainted with these village masses not to experience any new sensation; they took them for granted. But for me it was a real voyage of discovery, and while I was painfully conscious of the failings and weaknesses of my people, I found in India's country-folk something difficult to define, which attracted me. That something I had missed in our middle classes.

I do not idealize the conception of the masses and, as far as possible, I try to avoid thinking of them as a theoretical abstraction. The people of India are very real to me in their great variety and, in spite of their vast numbers, I try to think of them as individuals rather than as vague groups. Perhaps it was because I did not expect much from them that I was not disappointed; I found more than I had expected. It struck me that perhaps the reason for this, and for a certain stability and potential strength that they possessed, was the old Indian cultural tradition which was still retained by them in a small measure. Much had gone in the battering they had received during the past two hundred years. Yet something remained that was worth while, and with it so much that was worthless and evil.

During the twenties my work was largely confined to my own province, and I travelled extensively and intensively through the towns and villages of the forty-eight districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, that heart of Hindustan as it has so long been considered, the seat and centre of both ancient and medieval civilization, the melting-pot of so many races and cultures, the area where the great revolt of 1857 blazed up and was later ruthlessly crushed. I grew to know the sturdy Jat of the northern and western districts, that typical son of the soil, brave and independent-looking, relatively more prosperous; the Rajput

peasant and petty landholder, still proud of his race and ancestry, even though he might have changed his faith and adopted Islam; the deft and skilful artisans and cottage workers, both Hindu and Moslem; the poorer peasantry and tenants in their vast numbers, especially in Oudh and the eastern districts, crushed and ground down by generations of poverty, hardly daring to hope that a change would come to better their lot, and yet hoping and full of faith.

During the thirties, in the intervals of my life out of prison, and especially during the election campaign of 1936-37, I travelled more extensively throughout India, in towns and cities and villages alike. Except for rural Bengal, which unhappily I have only rarely visited, I toured in every province and went deep into villages. I spoke of political and economic issues and, judging from my speech, I was full of politics and elections. But all this while, in a corner of my mind, lay something deeper and more vivid, and elections meant little to it, or the other excitements of the passing day. Another and a major excitement had seized me, and I was again on a great voyage of discovery, and the land of India and the people of India lay spread out before me. India with her infinite charm and variety began to grow upon me more and more, and yet the more I saw of her, the more I realized how very difficult it was for me or for anyone else to grasp the ideas she had embodied. It was not her wide spaces that eluded me, or even her diversity, but some depth of soul which I could not fathom, though I had occasional and tantalizing glimpses of it. She was like some ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed, and yet no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written previously. All of these exist together in our conscious or subconscious selves, though we may not be aware of them, and they had gone to build

up the complex and mysterious personality of India. That sphinx-like face with its elusive and sometimes mocking smile was to be seen throughout the length and breadth of the land. Though outwardly there was diversity and infinite variety among our people, everywhere there was that tremendous impress of oneness, which had held all of us together for ages past, whatever political fate or misfortune had befallen us. The unity of India was no longer merely an intellectual conception for me: it was an emotional experience which overpowered me. That essential unity had been so powerful that no political division, no disaster or catastrophe, had been able to overcome it.

It was absurd, of course, to think of India or any country as a kind of anthropomorphic entity. I did not do so. I was also fully aware of the diversities and divisions of Indian life, of classes, castes, religions, races, different degrees of cultural development. Yet I think that a country with a long cultural background and a common outlook on life develops a spirit that is peculiar to it and that is impressed on all its children, however much they may differ among themselves. Can any one fail to see this in China, whether he meets an old-fashioned mandarin or a Communist who has apparently broken with the past? It was this spirit of India that I was after, not through idle curiosity, though I was curious enough, but because I felt that it might give me some key to the understanding of my country and people, some guidance to thought and action. Politics and elections were day-to-day affairs, and we grew excited over trumpery matters. But if we were going to build the house of India's future, strong and secure and beautiful, we would have to dig deep for the foundations.

—*The Discovery of India*

NOTES

THE VOICE OF LIFE

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose (1858-1937), the foremost Indian scientist of his time and pioneer of the study of science in India, was born in a village in the District of Dacca in East Bengal. His father was a member of the Bengal Executive Service, who, familiar with western culture, worked for the good of the people by establishing technical and industrial schools in his village and trying to promote their social welfare. Jagadish's scientific instincts were first developed in these institutions. His father had very advanced views on education and sent his son to St. Xavier's College in Calcutta, where Jagadish became a pupil of a brilliant scientist, the Rev. Father E. Lafont, S.J. This distinguished teacher was largely responsible for shaping his future career.

Soon after graduating from Calcutta University Jagadish went to Christ's College, Cambridge, and came under the influence of some eminent men of science, the most remarkable of whom was Lord Rayleigh, the Professor of Physics. Jagadish obtained the B.Sc. (Hons.) degree of the London University in 1883 and passed the Natural Science Tripos Examination of the Cambridge University in 1884.

He was next appointed Professor of Physical Science in Presidency College, Calcutta, where he devoted himself to the scientific studies which made him famous. Though facilities for research in the College laboratory were far from adequate, he made striking and original contributions to his subject, which were highly commended by Lord Kelvin and Lord Rayleigh and won him financial help from the Royal Society as well as the Doctorate of Science of the London University. In 1896 the Government of India sent him as a delegate to England, where he placed the results of his investigations before learned societies.

Dr. Bose's researches now took a different turn, and when

he next visited Europe in 1900, as a delegate to the International Scientific Congress held in Paris, he startled the scientific world by his conclusions on the similarity of response of non-living and living (inorganic and organic) bodies to electric stimulus. His further researches on sensation and irritability in plants evoked opposition from orthodox physiologists, but the treatise he published in 1906 was recognised as a masterpiece in its field. He went to Europe several times after this and also visited America to propagate his theories.

Dr. Bose was knighted in 1917, and after his retirement from Government service was awarded a recurring grant so that his work might be continued. The Bose Institute which he founded in Calcutta for this purpose in 1917, is a symbol of his devotion to science.

- p. 1. **Physical methods** : weighing, measuring, etc., employed in the study of physical science.

artificially.....organs : delicate or powerful instruments.

when human.....invisible : e.g., with the help of the microscope and the telescope.

The personal, yet general, truth : that devotion and faith succeed in overcoming obstacles is illustrated in the life of the author. It is a principle which has also universal application.

seemingly impossible : bridging the gulf between living and non-living, e.g., the discovery of sensation and excitability in plants and in minerals.

- p. 2. **metaphysical speculations** : "metaphysics" takes its name from the works of Aristotle which followed his *Physics*. Physics deals with mass, weight, density, etc., i.e., physical properties, while metaphysical speculation is concerned with the nature of being, etc.

physics and physiology : the latter differs from the former in that it deals with the vital processes and the functions of the various parts of living organisms, and is a branch of biology.

the Royal Society : the full title of this learned association is "The Royal Society of London for Improving

Natural Knowledge". Though a nucleus had been in existence previously, it is considered to have been founded in 1660.

- p. 3. **microcosm** : a little world.
cosmos : the world as a systematic whole—the opposite of *chaos*.
mysticism : the doctrine of the mystics; the development of religious feeling which at times rises to a sense of direct personal communion with God.
- p. 4. **millenniums** : a millennium is a period of a thousand years.
Babylon : capital of the ancient Babylonian Empire, which was situated on a branch of the Euphrates.
the Nile Valley : Egypt.
transmigrated : lit., passed at death into other bodies.
- p. 5. **interests and aptitudes.....them** : explained in the next sentence.
dual view-point : the view-point of the physicist and that of the biologist blended together, viz., that physical objects are irradiated by life and spirit and that these are really manifested in the properties of matter.
- p. 6. **kinetic** : progressive; dynamic. *Kinetics* is the science which treats of the action of force in producing or changing motion.
House of Knowledge : building used for scientific studies; here the Bose Institute.
- p. 7. **transactions** (*pl.*) : reports of proceedings of learned societies or records of papers read before them.
Study and Garden of Life : room or library where books on scientific subjects may be studied, and herbarium where the growth and sensitivity of plants may be observed.
- p. 8. **chromatic action** : effect relating to colours.
- p. 9. **Ultra-microscopic** : so slight as to be visible only with the help of a specially powerful microscope.

- p. 10. **anæsthetics** : substances that produce insensibility.

Crescograph: an instrument devised by Dr. Bose, which records the slow and invisible growth of plants.

“tropic” : from Gk. *tropos*, a turn.

heliotropic : having the tendency (in the case of the stem and leaves of a plant) to bend towards, or (in the case of roots) away from, the light of the sun. From Gk. *helios*, sun, and *tropos*, a turn.

geotropic : having the tendency of motion towards, or away from, the earth. From Gk. *geo*, earth, and *tropos*, a turn.

- p. 11. **atrophied** : weakened or diminished; temporarily deadened or extinguished.

central perceiving organ : the brain.

oneness amidst the manifold : “The thrill in matter, the throb of life, the pulse of growth”, etc., form “the manifold”. “Oneness” is the law or principle underlying them.

- p. 12. **not merely be transmitted but transmuted** : physical stimulus produces emotion, thought and affection. None of these is a physical entity. Here, therefore, physical stimulus is transmuted into non-physical entities, and is not merely transferred elsewhere.

INDIVIDUAL AND UNIVERSE

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) belonged to an aristocratic and cultured family of Calcutta, and was the youngest son of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the well-known religious reformer and one of the earliest members of the Theistic Church (*Brahmo Samaj*). Rabindranath was born in Calcutta and was educated both privately and at a public school. Even in his childhood he wrote poetry, and he was a regular contributor to a high-class Bengali magazine when still in his teens. He was sent to England in September, 1877, and he spent some time at an English school. Later on, he studied English litera-

ture at the University College, London, under Professor Henry Morley. His father wanted him to study law, but in the end it was decided that he should manage the family estates in East Bengal. So after about eighteen months he returned to India. By the time he was twenty, however, he had already made his mark in Bengali literature, and his genius was soon fully evident.

He wrote poems, novels, short stories, plays and essays, and excelled in every form of literary art. The publication of an English version of his *Gitanjali* in 1913 revealed to Europe and America his unique gifts as a poet and thinker, and in the same year he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.

In later life Rabindranath travelled extensively in Europe, America, China and Japan, and was often invited to deliver lectures at Universities and other centres of learning. His personality and accomplishments made a profound impression on all who came in contact with him.

The school which he founded at Bolpur in the District of Birbhum in order to educate young students according to ancient Indian traditions, has now developed into an international University where students from all countries can come under the influence of all that is best in Indian culture.

Rabindranath was a versatile genius. His paintings won widespread admiration. He was also a skilled musician, and the grace of his lyric poetry is in great measure due to this particular gift.

His death in Calcutta in 1941, at the age of eighty, was recognised as an immeasurable loss not only to India but to the whole world.

Bowthakuranir Hat, *Chokher Bali*, *Nowka Doobi* and *Gora* are some of his well-known novels. Collections like *Manasi*, *Chitra*, *Sonar Tari* and *Balaka* contain many of his exquisite poems. *Raja o Rani*, *Bisarjan*, *Dak-Ghar* and *Achalayatan* are some of his famous plays.

- p. 13. **Aryan invaders** : these are supposed to have come to India from Central Asia, and belonged to the Caucasian or Caucasoid race. They are called invaders because they made their way into the country

by force and subdued or drove out the primitive inhabitants.

- p. 15. **nature.....begins** : contrast Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose's view. His Address suggests "the fundamental identity of life-reactions in plant and animal".
- p. 16. **symphony** : harmony or consonance of sounds : an orchestral composition in several different but related movements.
- p. 17. **When he meets the eternal spirit.....objects** : this refers to the teaching of Pantheism. Wordsworth's poetry celebrates man's communion with the eternal spirit in nature.

Gayatri.....Vedas : *Gayatri* is the name of a metre used in a verse which is repeated by the Brahmins every day. The verse is supposed to contain the essence of the four *Vedas* and is also called *Gayatri*.

- p. 19. **play the fiddle.....conflagration** : Nero (Roman Emperor, A.D. 54-68) is said to have played the fiddle while the great fire that destroyed most of Rome was raging.

European settlers : they belonged to more than one country in Europe, e.g., Spain, France, England, Italy, etc.

- p. 21. **rishis** : holy sages ; men of divine vision and wisdom.
- p. 22. *Upanishads* : philosophical treatises forming a division of the *Vedas*. Unlike the *Vedas*, they preach monotheism or monism.

"It is easier for a camel.....Heaven" : Matthew. 19 : 24.

NATIONALISM IN THE WEST

- p. 24. **Man's history.....encounters** : life is said to be the outcome of adjustment to circumstances.

Scythians : inhabitants of ancient Scythia, the region to the north and to the east of the Black Sea.

- p. 25. **cosmopolitanism** : freedom from the evils of national vanity and prejudice. *Cosmopolitan* means 'citizen of the world'.
- p. 27. **kettle-drums** : hemispheres of brass, copper, or even silver, over which parchment is stretched by means of several screws. These screws can be adjusted to alter the note.
- p. 31. **octopus** : sea-creature, sometimes very large, with eight arms or tentacles, covered with suckers, round the mouth.
- p. 32. **Dravidians** : a non-Aryan race inhabiting South India. Part of the State of Madras is known as the country of the Dravidians.

THE SECRET OF WORK

Swami Vivekananda (1862-1902) was born of a well-known family in Calcutta. His name was Bisweswar Dutt, but this was changed to Narendranath Dutt when he was sent to school, and finally to Swami Vivekananda when, while still a young man, he renounced the world.

He graduated in 1884, and was intended for a legal career. Western culture had made him a sceptic, but the influence of the great saint Sri Ramkrishna effected a complete change in his outlook. He became the saint's disciple and devoted himself to the propagation of his teachings.

In 1893, Swami Vivekananda made a great impression at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, where he spoke on *Vedantic* Hinduism. In 1896 he addressed a number of meetings in England and gave an exposition of the religious ideals of his master. On returning to India, Vivekananda founded the Ramkrishna Mission, a monastic order with religious, philanthropic and humanitarian aims. It has now branches in different parts of India, with schools, hospitals, dispensaries and organizations to provide relief in case of famine, flood and other disasters. Vivekananda visited Europe and America again in 1899, when he founded a *Vedanta Society* in San Francisco. In 1900 he

lectured on Hindu Philosophy at the Congress of Religions in Paris. His career, however, was all too brief, for he passed away suddenly but peacefully at the early age of forty on the 4th of July, 1902.

Swami Vivekananda made Hindu philosophy known to large numbers of people in Europe and America, and made some converts. He was a man of action as well as a thinker, and his life showed that happy combination of the best qualities of both, which is taught in the highest systems of Hindu philosophy. Among his chief literary works are *Raja-Yoga*, *Karma-Yoga*, *Jnana-Yoga* and *Bhakti-Yoga*.

p. 36. **"non-attachment".....work** : abandonment of the desire for the enjoyment of the rewards of action.

p. 37. **subconscious region** : part of the brain moved by inner promptings that do not come from the conscious mind.

p. 38. *Yoga* : the culture and close application of the mind; concentration of thought as an aid to abstract meditation. *Ashtanga-Yoga* (eight-fold *Yoga* or self-control) is well-known.

Buddha : the enlightened ; an epithet especially applied to Gautama.

Christ : the anointed (by God as divine ruler) ; an epithet especially applied to Jesus.

p. 39. *Sankhya* : a school of Hindu philosophy which was founded by Kapila.

p. 40. **Existence-Knowledge-Bliss** : *Sat-Chit-Ananda* is Divinity in its three inseparable aspects according to Hindu philosophy. These are three in one, as implied in the word *Trinity*.

NATIONAL IDEALS

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), the distinguished Indian patriot, was born in a village of the Punjab, and was educated in the Government College of Lahore. He qualified as lawyer and started practice in the District of Hissar, but he was early

attracted by the ideal of service to his country, and came to devote most of his time to social and political work. Lajpat Rai was one of the supporters in the Punjab of the *Arya Samaj* which drew its tenets from the *Vedas* and sought to abolish the caste distinctions prevailing in the Hindu community. He became a strong supporter of the Indian National Congress, and numerous philanthropic associations owed their origin to his activities. The promotion of indigenous industry was one of his main interests.

In 1908 Lajpat Rai was deported to Mandalay in Burma on political grounds. He was released some time later, but soon had to leave India again, and this time he went to the United States. He was permitted to return in 1919, and he readily joined the non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi with the purpose of achieving India's freedom. Lajpat Rai also denounced the firing on an unarmed crowd at Jalianawallabagh in Amritsar, and the British policy towards Turkey (which had fought against Britain in the 1914-18 war), that gave rise to the *Khilafat* agitation in India. About this time he suffered imprisonment for a year and a half for disobeying certain Government regulations.

Lajpat Rai presided over a special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta and was for some time a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. He later joined the *Hindu Mahasabha*, and worked diligently for the promotion of its object—the reconversion of those who had left the Hindu fold.

Lala Lajpat Rai made generous donations to educational institutions and for the improvement of the status and condition of untouchables, and in all ways was probably the most distinguished public man of his time in the Punjab.

p. 44. *Nirvana* of Buddhism : freedom from the bondage of *Karma* or action and from liability to be re-born.

merging.....*Vedanta* : according to Sankar *Vedanta*, the supreme soul is the only reality and individual consciousness is an illusion. The illusion disappears when the latter realises the former. See note on p. 204.

Arya Samaj : established by Swami Dayananda Saraswati. Its religious creed is based exclusively on the *Vedas*. It ignores caste distinctions and is against idolatry.

Mukti of the Christian : deliverance from sin and its consequences through Christ's redeeming power of salvation or by the merits of Christ's death.

paradise.....Moslem : staunch Moslems believe that faithful followers of their religion who have led good lives enjoy the height of pleasure in paradise after death.

p. 45. **Sanatanists** : orthodox followers of *Sanatan Dharma*, i.e., Hinduism.

Brahmo Samajists : members of the Church founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Calcutta.

Vedantists : followers of the school of Hindu philosophy founded by Badarayana. See note on *Vedanta* on p. 203.

Dervishes : members of a Mohamedan order of mendicant monks.

p. 46. *Rishis* : see note on p. 200.

Munis : those who are free from desires and passions and have attained equanimity of mind.

Yoga-Samadhi : the state of self-immersion; union of the individual spirit with the Divine through the practice of *Yoga* or esoteric meditation.

Sadhu : one who has renounced the world.

Vivekananda Mission : probably the reference is to the Ramkrishna Mission which was founded by Swami Vivekananda (1897). It is a religious as well as philanthropic organization inspired by the teachings of the Swami's master, Paramahansa Ramkrishna.

p. 50. the *Guru* and the *Chela* : the preceptor or guide and the disciple or follower.

p. 51. *Brahmachari* : a novice; one who is on probation in a religious house before renouncing the world or going back to it as a house-holder.

the Codes : *Samhitas* like those of Manu and Yagnavalkya; a code is a systematic body of laws compiled by jurists or by authority of the State.

p. 53. *Purdah* : a screen; here it means the seclusion of women so that they may have no contact with outsiders.

- p. 55. **empirical methods of pedagogy:** methods of teaching based not on any comprehensive principle, but on the observation of circumstances as they arise.

MAHADEV GOVINDA RANADE

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), the famous statesman and founder of the Servants of India Society, was born of poor parents at Kholapur in the State of Bombay. After graduating from the University of Bombay in 1884, he served as Professor of Fergusson College, Poona, under the Deccan Education Society, for about eighteen years. While still a young man, he acted as editor of several journals. In 1897 he came to England at the invitation of a fiscal commission known as the Welby Commission.

He was nominated a member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1900 and 1901, and of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1902.

Gokhale was a follower of Ranade, and a keen student of economics. His budget speeches displayed his grasp of financial questions, and the value of his criticisms was freely acknowledged by every one familiar with them, including members of the Indian Government.

In 1905, Gokhale was elected President of the Indian National Congress held at Benares. In 1908 he visited England for the second time and addressed a number of meetings at which he discussed Indian problems, and in 1911 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India, which eventually recommended the holding of the Civil Service Examination simultaneously in India and England. He visited England for a third time in connection with the deliberations of this Commission, but returned in consequence of a breakdown in his health. He died at Poona at a comparatively early age.

Gokhale was liberal in his political and social views; but he was a fearless critic of any measures of which he disapproved. He did not, however, allow himself to be swayed by mere emotion. His arguments were always supported with a vast array of facts and figures, and for this reason were often unanswerable. It may be said with truth that his life was

dedicated to public service. He once introduced a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council for making primary education free and compulsory, but it was defeated. His great legacy to his countrymen was the Servants of India Society, which he founded in 1905 with the object of promoting national and social consciousness in the people of India, who will long remember his devoted work on their behalf.

- p. 57. **Mahadev Govinda Ranade**, the great social reformer, scholar and jurist of Bombay, was born on the 18th January, 1842, at Nasik. He was educated at an Anglo-Vernacular School in the District of Kholapur and later at the Elphinstone Institute of Bombay. His first appointment was as Marathi Translator to the Government of Bombay, and he next became a temporary Lecturer in English at Elphinstone College. In 1884 he was appointed a Judge of the Small Causes Court at Poona, and in 1893 was promoted to be a Judge of the Bombay High Court.

Ranade was deeply versed in history, literature, science, philosophy, economics and sociology. His essays on Indian economics were recognised as particularly valuable contributions to the subject. Gokhale was one of his disciples, and it was Ranade who initiated him into the study of financial questions. The *Prarthana Samaj* and the *Sarvajanik Sabha* of Poona,—the first was a religious and the second a politico-social organisation,—owed their origin largely to his efforts. Ranade believed in the harmonious progress of a nation as a whole, and put no trust in any one-sided development. He died in 1901.

- p. 58. **Dadabhai Naoraji** (1825-1917), patriot and statesman, was born of a Parsi family in Bombay. He spent a year (1854-5) at Elphinstone College, Bombay, as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He later went to England in connection with his business, and became the first Indian Member of the British Parliament, representing Holborn in the House of Commons from 1892 to 1895. Before this, in 1885, he had become a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was connected with many other public associations. He was

President of the Indian National Congress in 1886, 1893 and 1906 and was one of the pioneers of the movement for India's independence.

- p. 59. **Raja Ram Mohan Roy**, the founder of the *Brahmo Samaj* or Theistic Church, whose teachings are based on the monotheism of the *Upanishads*, was born at Radhanagar in the District of Hooghly in 1774. He left home when he was only sixteen, as he had offended his orthodox father by writing an attack on what he considered to be idolatry. After spending some years in travel, he served under the British Government from 1800 to 1814, when he retired and turned all his energies to religious reform, the abolition of caste distinctions and of cruel customs such as *suttee*, and to the spread of education among his countrymen. In 1830, the Emperor of Delhi conferred on him the title of *Raja*. He made a great impression in England when he tendered his evidence before a Parliamentary Commission on the judicial and revenue systems in India. Sudden illness led to his death at Bristol in 1833.
- p. 61. **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha**: a society in the city of Poona devoted to social and political work. It was founded largely through the efforts of Ranade.
- the Social Conference**: a conference held annually to discuss social problems. It had often its sittings in the past as an adjunct of the Indian National Congress.
- p. 62. **State policy**: the politics or general principles guiding the Government of a State in its administration of public affairs.
- p. 63. **Sholapur**: a district in the State of Bombay, 60 miles to the north of Bijapur.
- Bijapur**: an ancient city in pre-Mahomedan India. The independent Kingdom of Bijapur was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah in the Mahomedan period. Bijapur is now the name of a district in the southern division of the State of Bombay.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946), the famous orator, scholar and statesman, was born near Kumbhakonam in the State of Madras. After graduating from Madras University, he started his career as a schoolmaster, but soon afterwards joined the Servants of India Society established at Poona by Gokhale, becoming its President when the latter died in 1915. He was a member of the Madras Legislative Council from 1913 to 1916, when he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council.

As a politician, Sastri served his country in various capacities and represented India at the Imperial Conference (1921), at the League of Nations at Geneva and at the Washington Conference on naval reduction.

Liberal in his political views, he helped British statesmen in introducing the reforms of 1919. As "the golden-mouthed orator of the Imperial Legislative Council," he exercised a great influence on the Government of India and did much to advance his country's cause. Calm, sober and far-sighted, he commanded universal respect. He was made a Privy Councillor and received the Freedom of the City of London in 1921. During 1927-29 he was High Commissioner for India in South Africa, and in 1929 was appointed a Member of the Royal Commission on Labour. He was Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University from 1935 to 1940.

- p. 67. **Natal:** now a province of the Union of South Africa. It was founded by the Dutch settlers, but was placed under British rule in 1841.

Tamil: the principal Dravidian dialect spoken in Madras and in areas to the south of it.

Sanskrit *sloka* : lines of verse written in Sanskrit.

- p. 68. **nescience:** ignorance.

academies : educational institutions. "Academy" (from the hero Akadēmos) was originally the name of the garden where Plato taught.

- p. 69. **dictators:** a dictator was an extraordinary magistrate at Rome, who was temporarily granted absolute power;

hence an absolute ruler. The reference is to men like Hitler and Mussolini.

- p. 70. **heresiarch** : leader of heresy, i.e., of religious belief contrary to the official or generally accepted doctrine.

Cardinals : a Cardinal is one of the seventy ecclesiastical princes in the Roman Catholic Church, who constitute the Pope's Council or Sacred College, the duties of which include election of the Pope.

stand.....rights : e.g., in cases of illegal arrest or arrest without warrant, judges have issued writs of *Habeas Corpus* against the King's officers and compelled them to set the arrested persons at liberty.

Sharply.....Judiciary : in England and America judges of ordinary courts have jurisdiction to set aside executive orders that are in violation of common law or of statute law. In France officials come under the jurisdiction not of ordinary courts but of what are called administrative courts which administer *droit administratif*.

"Good government.....self-government": this is quoted from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister of England during 1905-8. It means that despotism, though benevolent, must not be tolerated.

Even in Ramarajya.....citizenship : Rama's wife Sita was banished without trial by her own husband, though he was just and benevolent as ruler. Rama is the hero of the Sanskrit epic *Ramayana*.

- p. 71. **"Eternal vigilance.....liberty"**: John Philpot Curran, the Irish politician, actually used the sentence in 1790: "The condition upon which God has given liberty to man is eternal vigilance." Similar expressions have been used later by many.

totalitarian: following the view that the State should have complete control over all the activities and opinions of its citizens.

- p. 73. **the Lords** : the House of Lords, which is the Upper House of the British Parliament.

totem: natural object believed by savages to be mysteriously connected with human beings, their families or their tribes.

p. 74. **Augean stables:** impurity; from Augēas, King of Elis, in Greek mythology, whose stables containing immense numbers of oxen and goats remained unclean for thirty years until Hercules cleansed them in a day.

Hercules : legendary Greek hero of supernatural strength.

ECONOMIC *VERSUS* MORAL PROGRESS

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), the maker of Independent India, was born in a small town in Kathiawad. His father was Diwan of a number of local Indian States. After completing his education at school, Gandhi went to England to qualify for the Bar. On return he practised in Bombay High Court until his work took him to South Africa. He started a movement against anti-Indian legislation in the colony and, in 1894, founded the Natal Indian Congress. During the Boer War Gandhi loyally helped the British Government and formed an Indian Ambulance Corps. In 1903 he founded the Transvaal British Indian Association and continued his agitation against the colour bar in South Africa. For these activities he suffered imprisonment more than once, but they led to the Smuts-Gandhi settlement of 1914.

Soon afterwards he returned to India and became prominent in the movement for Home Rule. He established a centre at Ahmedabad for the preaching of Satyagraha. In 1917 he acted as arbitrator in a dispute between local agriculturists and European indigo-planters in the district of Champaran in Bihar. He supported the war-efforts of the British Government in 1914-18, but in 1919 his indignation was roused by the restrictions imposed on the press under the Rowlatt Act and by a tragic episode in the agitation against that Act when unarmed people were fired on and killed at Jalianwallabagh in Amritsar. He supported the Muslims in their agitation for the restoration of the *Khalif*, their religious head and ruler of Turkey, a country

on which Britain had imposed harsh terms after the First Great War. Failing to obtain any satisfaction on these matters, he urged his countrymen to follow a policy of non-co-operation with the British Government in India, and demanded complete national independence. His activities and publications led to his being twice imprisoned. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1924.

In October, 1940, during the Second Great War, Gandhi again started a movement against the British Government of India, and was once more detained along with other Indian politicians in 1942. After the Allied victory they were released, and met representatives of the British Cabinet at several conferences. Ultimately the British quitted India, and Mahatma Gandhi's dream of independence was realised.

Mahatma Gandhi was not merely a politician, but also an inspiring teacher and an ardent social worker. He always exhorted his followers to avoid violence and falsehood, and to make it their duty to abolish untouchability and to raise and educate the poor and helpless. His own habits were simple, and he urged his countrymen to keep aloof from luxury and the mechanical civilization of the West. Among his particular interests was the improvement of cottage industries including home spinning.

He was for India, and even for the world outside it, an emblem of integrity, truth, and self-sacrifice. His countrymen unanimously gave him the titles of Mahatma, and Father, and it is only fair to mention that the British themselves, though they opposed his aims, showed him the greatest personal respect and regard. It was a bitter blow to India when, on the 30th of January, 1948, this noblest of her leaders was murdered by a fanatic in Delhi.

p. 77. **Sir William Wilson Hunter**: a member of the Indian Civil Service, who was responsible for the compilation of the *Statistical Accounts of Bengal and of Assam*, which formed the basis of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

p. 78. **"Take.....morrow"**: Matthew, 6 : 34.

Rome suffered moral fall : the Romans grew cruel, luxurious and unmanly.

The descendants.....riches: they were addicted to drink, and quarrelled and fought amongst themselves at Dwaraka and were extirpated through mutual slaughter.

the Rockefellers and the Carnegies: John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie made vast fortunes in America out of oil and steel respectively.

p. 79. **St. Mark:** author of the second book of the New Testament.

vividly.....scene: in Chap. 10 of the Gospel of St. Mark.

p. 81. **serve God and Mammon:** Matthew, 6: 24. Mammon is the god of wealth.

sardines: small fish of the herring family.

p. 82. **Wallace:** Alfred Russel Wallace was a fellow scientist of Darwin and published his *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* in 1853.

p. 83. **militia:** men enrolled and drilled as soldiers, but liable only for home-service, i.e., for defence.

FIRST EXPERIENCES IN ENGLAND

p. 84. **Ahmedabad:** a town in the State of Bombay, well known for its cotton mills.

Kathiawad : a peninsula in the western part of India, bounded on three sides by the Arabian Sea. It forms part of the State of Bombay. It formerly included a number of independent Native States which have now acceded to the Indian Republic.

Bhavnagar: a Native State on the eastern coast of Kathiawad. Its capital Bhavnagar was founded in 1723, and is the principal harbour for the export of cotton.

Samaldas College: a college at Bhavnagar.

p. 85. **Joshiji :** another name of Mavji Dave, a shrewd Brahmin who was an old friend and adviser of Gandhi's father and his family.

Modh Bania: a particular sect of traders in Gujarat. The word *Bania* is derived from the Sanskrit *Banik*, meaning a trader.

Jain : Jains are a religious community akin to the Buddhists. According to some authorities, Jainism had come into existence before Buddhism. Both these religions are based on the tenets of Hinduism, though they differ from the latter in many respects, particularly in the matter of religious sacrifices. Jains, like Buddhists, are wedded to the creed of non-violence.

Rajkot: a Native State in Kathiawad where the Mahatma lived as a schoolboy. His father was the Diwan or Prime Minister of this State. Its ruler was known as the Thakore Saheb.

steward: one of the men who attend to the passengers' wants on board ship.

Sjt. Mazmudar: Tryambakari Mazmudar, who was a lawyer practising in Junagadh State. He was in the same cabin with Gandhi during the latter's first voyage to England.

p. 86. **Bay of Biscay :** the part of the Atlantic Ocean immediately to the west of France.

p. 87. **Southampton:** an important seaport on the south coast of England.

Dr. P. J. Mehta: Pran Jiban Mehta, an Indian doctor who settled in London and practised there.

Prince Ranjitsinhji: ruler of Navanagar, a Native State on the west Coast of Kathiawad. The title of the ruler was Jam Saheb. Prince Ranjit was considered the best batsman of the world in his time and was known to all lovers of cricket as Ranji.

Dadabhai Naoraji: a great Parsi patriot. See the note on p. 206.

p. 88. **Sindhi:** an inhabitant of Sindh, which was formerly included in Bombay Presidency but was later made into a separate Province. It is now part of Pakistan. The word Sindh is derived from *Sindhu*, the Sanskrit

name of the river Indus which flows through the area. *Sindhu* also means the sea. *Sindhi* is here used as an adjective.

- p. 89. **between Scylla and Charybdis:** Scylla was the Greek name of a she-monster living on a rock on the Italian side of the Straits of Messina. Charybdis was a whirlpool on the Sicilian side. It was difficult to steer a ship through the passage between the two, as suggested in Homer's *Odyssey*.

oatmeal: meal made from oat (bot., usually in pl.), a cereal grass the grain of which is used as food.

- p. 90. **Bentham's *Theory of Utility* :** *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) teaches that the test of the rightness of any act or doctrine is whether it promotes "the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people." This is the principle or theory of utility.

- p. 91. **Bond Street:** a street in the West End of London, where the shops are mainly devoted to luxury goods.

lingua franca (Ital.): a mixed language with Spanish, Italian, French and Greek elements, used as a means of intercourse amongst the heterogeneous peoples of the Levant. Hence any language which has a wide currency among different races.

- p. 92. **Bell's *Standard Elocutionist* :** a collection of prose passages and poems suitable for recitation, compiled by D. C. and A. M. Bell.

speech of Pitt's (1708-78) : William Pitt was a great British statesman whose eloquence was unrivalled. He was raised to the peerage as the Earl of Chatham.

- p. 93. **Bar examinations:** examinations, success in which entitles a student to be called to the Bar. The word *Bar* refers to a barrier in the Inns of Court separating "Benchers" and "Readers" from the students. The latter took their seats at the Bar when they had qualified as Barristers-at-law.

- p. 94. **Roman Law:** the legal system of the ancient Romans. It is the basis of civil law in many countries in Western Europe.

Heat and Light: two of the branches of the science of Physics.

- p. 95. **slums:** insanitary and overcrowded areas inhabited by the poorest classes.

Cocoa Rooms: cheap eating-places where cocoa was the usual drink.

Vegetarian Society: a society in England which preaches the benefits of a vegetarian diet. The President of the Society at the time of which Gandhi speaks, was an Englishman (proprietor of the Thames Iron Works), and Gandhi was a member of its Executive Committee. This Society, still in active existence, was quite different from the short-lived Vegetarian Club founded by Gandhi himself.

Theosophist: a believer in Theosophy, a mystical form of religious thought which aims at a direct relation between the individual and the Divine Being.

- p. 96. **Sir Edwin Arnold's translation :** see note on p. 230.

Old Testament: that part of the Holy Scriptures of the Christians which contains the history, religious beliefs and sacred literature of the ancient Hebrews. The New Testament is devoted to the life and teachings of Christ and His disciples.

Sermon on the Mount: the teachings of Christ embodied in the discourse given in Matthew, 5, 6 and 7.

Shamalhatt: a Gujarati poet whose didactic poetry produced a great impression on the mind of Gandhi in his childhood. It taught him toleration, forbearance and the principle of returning good for evil.

PRACTICALISM AND IDEALISM

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha (1871-1950), known as the Father of modern Bihar, was born on November 10, 1871. He was educated at Patna College and the City College, Calcutta,

and studied law at the Middle Temple in London. He was called to the Bar in 1893 and practised in the High Courts of Calcutta, Allahabad and Patna successively. The creation of Bihar as a separate Province was largely due to his efforts. He was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and, in 1920, was returned to the Indian Legislative Assembly, of which he was the first elected Deputy President. He was the President of the Legislative Council and also the first Indian Finance Member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa.

A profound scholar, he took a keen interest in education. His literary tastes and abilities were revealed in his work as founder and editor of an influential English periodical, *The Hindusthan Review*, with which he was connected till the end of his life. He was the author of *The Partition of Bengal or the Separation of Bihar and Kashmir*, *The Playground of Asia*. As Vice-Chancellor of Patna University (1936-44), he was responsible for a remarkable expansion of its activities and the promotion of higher education in Bihar. The University of Allahabad conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Letters (*Honoris Causa*) in 1937.

Dr. Sinha was a member of the Constituent Assembly which drew up the Constitution of the Indian Republic, and presided over its first sitting as Chairman. He died in 1950 at the age of seventy-nine.

- p. 100. **occupational reconstruction of society** : formation of new social classes on the basis of profession or craftsmanship.

alumni (Lat.) : pupils. *Alumnus* is the singular form.

- p. 102. **Prayag**: the confluence of the *Ganges*, the *Saraswati* and the *Jumna* at Allahabad.

lingua franca: see note on p. 214.

- p. 105. **the wealthiest and most populous Indian State...**
language: Hyderabad in South India. Urdu is the medium of instruction in all branches of learning in Osmania University in Hyderabad, the capital of the State.

- p. 106. **Herbert Spencer** (1820-1903): English scientist and

synthetic philosopher; author of *First Principles*, *Principles of Sociology*, etc.

- p. 107. **Dickens** (1812-1870): one of the greatest of English novelists. His *Hard Times* was published in 1854, and *Nicholas Nickleby* in 1839.
- p. 108. **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858-1919): he was thrice elected President of the United States of America.

THE AWAKENING SOUL OF INDIA

Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) was born in Calcutta. His father was a member of the Indian Medical Service recruited in England. He was convinced of the superiority of Western culture and sent Aurobindo to England when he was only a child of seven. Educated privately at Manchester and then at St. Paul's School in London, he passed the I.C.S. Examination in 1890 with credit, but was not selected on account of his inability to ride. He continued his education at King's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a First Class in the Classical Tripos Examination in 1892, afterwards returning to India in the service of the Ruler of Baroda.

He was Vice-Principal of Baroda College for some time, but came to Bengal in 1905, when the province was in the throes of an agitation against its partition and for retaliation in the form of a boycott of foreign goods. Aurobindo threw himself into this movement and was a Director of the nationalist journal *Bande Mataram*. He supported the extremist politicians whose opposition to the 'moderates' led to a split in the Indian National Congress at Surat in 1907. In 1908 he was arrested and tried for alleged offences against the State, but was acquitted.

In 1910 Aurobindo suddenly left the scene of his manifold activities and retired to the French possession of Pondicherry. Except for literary work, he lived the life of a recluse in this sea-washed town for 40 years, occupied with spiritual research and contemplation. He died in December, 1950. ¶

Saint, savant, teacher, critic and poet, Sri Aurobindo was one of the most remarkable Indians of modern times, even if it is difficult to fathom the mystery that surrounded his unique personality. He lived in seclusion, though his *Ashram* at Pondicherry had a large number of inmates and disciples. On special occasions, however, visitors were allowed to have a glimpse of the Master.

Sri Aurobindo had been a writer and poet from his early life, and his work has won the highest admiration. *Urvashi*, *Love and Death*, *Baji Prabhau* and *Savitri* are only a few of his many well-known poems. Of his numerous prose writings mention may be made of *The Ideal of the Karmayogin*, *The Renaissance in India* and *The Life Divine*.

p. 110. *Karmayogin*: one who finds the realization of self in action; one devoted to action as a means to self-culture.

p. 111. *Dharma*: religion or law of life; that which holds man in the right path.

yoga : spiritual culture based on inner discipline and mental concentration. See note on p. 202.

p. 112. **Anglicised** : in the early part of the 19th century some people in Bengal welcomed the introduction of Western culture and demanded that English, the natural sciences, etc., should be taught in schools and colleges. They were called Anglicists and were opposed by the Orientalists whose view was ultimately rejected by the British administrators.

p. 113. **the ape of Europe**: a blind imitator of European modes of life and social habits.

Widow-remarriage.....reformer: these were some of the aims of the Anglicised social reformers in Bengal in the 19th century. But Pandit Iswarchandra also was an advocate of the remarriage of Hindu widows.

Theism: belief in a personal God capable of revealing Himself by miracles.

p. 114. *Vedanta*: see note on p. 203 and on p. 204.

Darshana: philosophy as the means of realisation of the Divine.

Purana: book of Hindu legends and myths.

Tantra: Tantras are works affiliated to various Hindu (and Buddhist) creeds, prescribing esoteric practices for mystic communion with the divine, e.g. *Mahanirvan-tantra*.

p. 116. **hegemony**: leadership, preponderance.

Ananda: bliss, one of the three aspects of the Supreme Reality.

p. 117. **religious movements.....Punjab**: the movement led by Swami Dayananda for the revival of Vedic Hinduism and the activities of the Sanatanists in the Punjab may be referred to, along with Ramakrishna's stand against heterodoxy in Bengal.

political aspirations of Maharashtra: in Maharashtra people were thinking of the foundation of a Hindu (or Marhatta) state such as had once been established by Sivaji.

literary.....Bengal: literary creation in Bengal by the poet Madhusudan, the novelist Bankimchandra, the great writer Rabindranath and others.

"tamasic": inert, spiritless. *Sattwa* (equanimity), *rajas* (activity) and *tamas* (inertia) are the three principles governing life and mind.

p. 118. **illiterate Hindu ascetic**: Paramahansa Ramkrishna, the saint of Dakshineswar, who had no literary education in his childhood.

ecstatic and "mystic": one who has direct communion, in a trance, with God.

reconstruction.....past: idealisation of the social and political conditions in India during the last days of Muslim rule was a consequence of the general dislike to British administration. It was intended to supply the foundation of the future social and political organization of India.

"Sandhya": an aggressive Nationalist daily newspaper in Bengali during the days of the Swadeshi movement. The editor was Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya.

- p. 119. **the vengeful turning.....them** : expressed in a declaration of a boycott of European goods in 1906, the insistence on the consumption of indigenous products, the use of the vernacular in public speaking, etc.
- p. 120. **Abanindranath Tagore** : a close relative of the poet Rabindranath and leader of a revolt against the European style of painting.
- p. 121. **turn to Japan for help** : Japanese art does not attempt to achieve mere realism ; it also aims at delicacy and grace.
- communism.....system** : common ownership and enjoyment of pasture land, agricultural land, etc., in villages.

A CONVOCATION ADDRESS

The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Mukund Ramrao Jayakar was born in Nasik in the State of Bombay. He was educated at the Elphinstone High School and College in Bombay and subsequently in England. He was an Advocate of the Bombay High Court, and entered public life in 1916. He was the leader of the Swaraj Party in Bombay and leader of the opposition in the Bombay Legislative Council, to which he was elected in 1923. He resigned from the Bombay Legislative Council in 1925 and entered the Indian Legislative Assembly as a member for Bombay City in 1926. He became the Deputy leader of the Nationalist Party in this Assembly.

Dr. Jayakar was a delegate to the Indian Round Table Conference in London and a member of the Federal Structure Committee. He was appointed a Judge of the Federal Court of India in 1937 and a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1939. He resigned from the Judicial Committee in 1942, and was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, from which he resigned in 1947. Since April, 1948, he has been Honorary Vice-Chancellor of Poona University.

Dr. Jayakar is the author of *Aspects of Vedanta Philosophy* (1924).

- p. 125. **Wisconsin:** one of the north-central States of the U. S. A. The University of Wisconsin is at Madison, the capital of the State. It is a co-educational institution and is under state control.
- p. 126. **Alexander Meiklejohn:** born in England in 1872, he went to America as a child. His progressive ideas of education have largely inspired his work at the Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin and the School for Social Studies (for adults) in San Francisco.
- p. 129. **Urdu:** lit., "camp" and so "camp language". It is spoken extensively in North India. It has a large admixture of Persian and Arabic words with words of Sanskrit origin.

Bankim Chandra (1838-94): Bankimchandra Chatterjee was one of the first batch of graduates of Calcutta University and was an executive officer under the Government of Bengal. He became famous as a novelist. One of his novels, viz., *Anandamath* is based on the story of the Sannyasi Rebellion in Bengal in the latter part of the 18th century. In it occurs the famous national song "Bande Mataram" which has in the past inspired patriotic movements in India. Though a product of the western system of education, Bankim upheld the ideal of reviving Hindu culture.

Iswar Chandra (1820-91): Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar was a great Bengali educationist, writer and social reformer. With his help J. E. Drinkwater Bethune founded a school for girls in Calcutta in 1840. This subsequently grew into a college. Iswarchandra was a Professor of Fort William College, established by the East India Company for the training of European Civil Servants in India. He was for a short time Principal of Sanskrit College also, and later founded a college named Metropolitan Institution. Iswarchandra

was an erudite Sanskrit scholar, but he is also regarded as the father of modern Bengali prose. He strongly advocated remarriage of Hindu widows. An Act legalising this was eventually passed by the Government.

Rabindranath: see pp. 198-199.

Narsey Mehta: Gujarati poet (1414-1481).

Gobardhanram Tripathi: Gujarati novelist and critic (1855-1907).

Tamil : see note on p. 208.

Telugu: a Dravidian dialect spoken in Southern India in Andhra districts like Vizagapatam, Kistna and the Godavari districts and in Rayalaseema districts.

p. 131. **Oxonian:** a member or a student of the University of Oxford, past or present.

Jowett (1817-1894): Benjamin Jowett, a great classical scholar and Master of Balliol College, Oxford, famous for his English translation of the Dialogues of Plato.

p. 132. **Parsi:** a follower of Zoroaster. Parsis are descended from the ancient Persians who came to India after the conquest of Persia by Arabs. Their language is now Gujarati. They are a rich commercial community.

p. 134. *Upanishad*: see note on page 200.

p. 135. **recent excavations:** e.g., at Mohenjo-daro in Sind.

EDUCATION FOR NEW INDIA

Chakravorti Rajagopalachari, the first and last Indian Governor-General of India, was born in 1879 in a village in the District of Salem in the State of Madras. He was educated at the Presidency College and the Law College, Madras, and was enrolled as an Advocate in 1900. Though he had a lucrative practice, he felt the call to politics and social work, and became an active member of the Indian National Congress, of the

Society for the propagation of Hindi and of organizations for removing untouchability and promoting prohibition. He rose to be General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and a member of the Congress Working Committee.

"Rajaji," as he is often called, was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly and was appointed Prime Minister in 1937, but resigned with his colleagues, in pursuance of the mandate of the Congress, when hostilities against Germany began in 1939. The policy of the Congress was one of non-co-operation, and it manifested itself in movements against the Government of India. Though Rajaji was personally against these activities, he was held responsible for them as a member of the Congress Working Committee, and in 1940, he was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment under the Defence of India Act.

When India obtained Dominion Status in 1947, Rajaji became Governor of Bengal. Soon after, he was appointed Governor-General of India, and he continued in that office till India was declared a Republic. He later became the Home Minister of India. He was appointed Chief Minister of Madras early in 1952 under the New Constitution of India.

Rajaji is a shrewd politician and a humorous speaker. He has the art of disarming opposition by his genial manner and even temper. He has written some short stories as well as books on Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, the *Bhagavad-Gita* and the *Upanishads*.

- p. 137. **Sir Archibald Nye:** Governor of Madras and Chancellor of Madras University. He continued as Governor for some time after the transfer of power to Indians on the 15th of August, 1947. After retiring from the Governorship, he became High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in India.

Lord Mountbatten : last Viceroy and British Governor-General of India. He too continued to serve India for some time after the transfer of power in 1947.

- p. 138. **Mrs. Grady:** wife of Mr. Henry Francis Grady who was the United States Ambassador to India during 1947-8. He was head of the American Technical Mission in India during the war.

Dharma: duty or obligation, not religion in the conventional sense.

- p. 139. **Our.....leader**: Mahatma Gandhi, assassinated in January, 1948.
- p. 140. **certain events**: communal riots and fighting during 1946-47, especially in Bengal and the Punjab.
- long-drawn-out controversies**: between those who favoured the division of India and those who were for a united and independent India.
- p. 141. **cashing.....sacrifice**: trying to secure a reward for suffering undergone in winning independence for India.
- p. 142. **habit.....opposition**: the passive resistance movement led by Mahatma Gandhi against the Government was the outcome of this.
- Kerala**: another name of Chera, an old Dravidian kingdom now partly included in the State of Madras.
- Satyagraha*: movement of resistance based on truth and non-violence, as initiated by Mahatma Gandhi.
- p. 146-7. **the highest honour.....gift**: the doctorate.
- p. 147. **Paul**: Saint Paul, originally named Saul of Tarsus. He was at first a leader of the persecution of the disciples of Jesus, but was converted by a vision on his way to Damascus. He became one of the great Apostles (messengers) and martyrs of the Christian faith.

NATIONALITY AND STATE

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Indian Republic, was born in 1884 in the District of Saran in Bihar and was educated in Calcutta. He had a brilliant academic career, and he practised in the High Courts of Calcutta and Patna, but ultimately gave up his profession and joined Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement. He worked with the Mahatma in Champaran in Bihar in 1917 when they intervened in a dispute between the indigo-planters and their

labourers. Dr. Prasad filled many important positions in the Congress and was elected its President more than once. During the last Great War he was arrested and imprisoned for taking part in the "Quit India" movement of Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Prasad has always been prominent in humanitarian work, and he was President of two Committees formed to give relief to areas in Bihar and Quetta which had been devastated by earthquakes. His literary bent manifested itself in his interest in Hindi, and this led to his election as President of the All-India Hindi Literary Conference in Coconada and Nagpur. He was Rector of the Indian Academy of History (*Bharatiya Itihash Parishad*). When the Indian Dominion appointed a Constituent Assembly to frame its future form of Government, Dr. Prasad was elected its Chairman. His great services to India and his distinguished work in this Assembly led to his election in January, 1950, as President of the Indian Republic. He was re-elected in 1952.

The present extract is from his well-known book *India Divided*. His latest work, *Gandhi and Bihar*, was published in 1950.

p. 148. **Suleiman Range**: a mountain system on the north-west frontier of India. There is a legend connecting it with Solomon, who is said to have come to India through the air in a throne to marry a princess, and to have rested for a while on this Range.

Mr. Durrani : F. K. Khan Durrani, the author of *The Meaning of Pakistan*. He did not consider that Muslims belonged to any particular country only, e.g., Arabia. Wherever they might live, they formed one undivided nation. Like the late Mahomed Ali Jinnah, he favoured partition of India.

p. 149. **Lord Bryce** (1838-1922): British jurist, author and statesman. He was born at Belfast of a Scottish family. A Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, he was called to the Bar in 1867. He was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford for over twenty years. He entered the House of Commons and held office under Gladstone as well as under Rosebery. Lord Bryce was British Ambassador to America for six years. His *Holy Roman Empire* (1864), *The American Commonwealth*

(1888), and *Modern Democracies* (1921), are famous standard works.

Prof. Sidgwick (1838-1900) : Henry Sidgwick, English philosopher and economist, was a Classical Lecturer at Cambridge, but became Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in 1869. In 1883 he was appointed Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy. He was a member of the Metaphysical Society and the founder-President of the Society for Psychical Research. Among his chief works are *Principles of Political Economy* (1883), *Methods of Ethics* (1874), *Outlines of the History of Ethics* (1886) and *Elements of Politics* (1891).

Dr. Ambedkar: Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born in 1893. He belonged to the "untouchable" caste and worked energetically for the improvement of its status. Professor of Political Economy at Sydenham College of Commerce, he was also a practising Advocate of Bombay High Court. He was for some time Minister of Law in the Federal Government of India. Of late he has embraced Buddhism.

p. 150. **Stalin:** Generalissimo Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, "Man of Steel" (his real name is Djugashvili), was born in Georgia in 1879. He is the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R., and Secretary of the Communist Party. He is the virtual dictator of Russia. The quotation is from his book *Marxism and the Question of Nationalities*.

Boers: South Africans of Dutch origin. The word *Boer* is Dutch and means a peasant or farmer.

p. 151. **Soviet Republic:** the U. S. S. R.—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The word *Soviet* means a Council. Originally it was a committee of strikers on which only working people were represented. After the Revolution Russia became a Union of Republics, and the Soviets or Committees of workers and soldiers were originally the instruments for governing them.

C. A. Macartney: Carlile Aylmer Macartney was born in 1895 and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He served in the European War of 1914-18 and became British Vice-Consul at Vienna in 1921. He joined the Intelligence Department of the League of Nations Union in 1928, became a Research Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1936 and was in the Research Department of the Foreign Office during 1939-46. His publications include *The Social Revolution in Austria* (1926), *Survey of International Affairs for 1925, Part II* (with other authors) and *National States and National Minorities* (1934).

- p. 152. *Minority Treaties* : treaties safeguarding the interests of peoples who on account of their race, language or religion are in a minority in any country. Under the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations was to see to it that such treaties were duly observed.

Julian Huxley: Julian Sorell Huxley, distinguished biologist and writer, born in 1887, was for some time Professor of Zoology, King's College, London, and Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation during 1946-48.

- p. 153. **Friedmann:** W. G. Friedmann, author of *The Crisis of the National State* (1943), from which the quotation is taken. He is Professor of Public Law in the University of Melbourne, Australia.

- p. 154. **Mr. A. Cobban:** author of *National Self-determination*. The quotation is from page 60 of this book.

Spanish America: also called Hispanic-America. It consisted originally of parts of America, north and south, in Spanish possession as colonies. These declared their independence, and are not now under Spain, though they owe their culture mainly to this country and its civilization.

ipso facto (Lat.): in the fact itself; virtually.

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA

Dr. Sarbapalli Radhakrishnan, the distinguished scholar and writer, belongs to the State of Madras and was born in 1888. He was educated at Madras Christian College and was Professor of Philosophy at Presidency College, Madras (1916-17), Mysore University (1918-21) and at Calcutta University (1921-31 and 1937-41).

He was Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, Waltair, from 1931 to 1936, and of Benares Hindu University from 1939 to 1948. As Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford (1936-), he holds a unique position among Indian scholars. He delivered the Hibbert Lectures in 1929-30 and represented India in several international conferences. He was given a British Knighthood in 1931. When the Indian Dominion appointed a Universities Commission in 1948 to revise the system of higher education in this country, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was appointed its President, but before its report was published, he became the Indian Ambassador to Russia. He has travelled extensively in America and Europe as a lecturer. He is now Vice-President of the Indian Republic.

Dr. Radhakrishnan is a fluent and impressive speaker, a profound thinker and a prolific writer. His works include *Indian Philosophy*, *The Hindu View of Life*, *India and China*, and *Gautama the Buddha*.

p. 156. **Kapilavastu**: the city where Gautama was born. It was the capital of his father's kingdom.

cakravartin: a sovereign ruler over a number of otherwise independent kings in ancient India.

Buddha: the enlightened; one who has attained spiritual illumination.

Simeon: a pious man residing at Jerusalem, who, inspired by the Spirit in the Temple, took the infant Jesus up in his arms and made prophecies about Him.

p. 157. **logomachies**: disputes about words, or controversies turning on merely verbal points.

p. 158. **Mara**: tempter.

demon of Socrates: the 'genius' of the Greek philosopher Socrates, which, like an inner voice, suggested solutions to the questions which engaged his attention.

- p. 159. **Sarnath:** a place near Benares with relics of Buddhist architecture and a *stupa*.

Ananda: the cousin, constant companion and attendant of Buddha.

- p. 160. **Brahma:** the Supreme Being; the Final Reality.
Nirvana: see note on p. 203.

Sariputta: a favourite disciple of Buddha.

- p. 161. **the Tathagata:** Gautama the Buddha ; lit., one who has realised Truth.

Socratic manner: if asked a question by a disciple, Socrates did not reply directly. Instead he cross-examined the questioner so that the latter himself might gradually supply the answer.

- p. 164. **the martyrs' deaths of Socrates and Jesus:** Socrates was made to drink hemlock, and Jesus was crucified. They are called martyrs because they laid down their lives in a great cause.

- p. 165. **Vedic orthodoxy and ceremonialism:** belief in the commonly accepted opinions about the efficacy of religious ceremonies and sacrifices prescribed in the *Vedas*.

Judaism: Jewish religion, with its numerous rites and ceremonies.

Order: fraternity of monks, bound by strict rules of discipline.

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

Sir Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, the famous scientist, was born in 1888 and was educated at Vizagapatam and at Madras. In 1907, when he was only nineteen, he was appointed an officer in the Indian Finance Department on the results

of a difficult competitive examination. But his taste for scientific studies would not permit him to spend his life in office work, though he had brilliant prospects of promotion. He won several awards for his researches and became Professor of Physics at Calcutta University in 1917. He was also a Special Lecturer in the subject at Madras, Lahore and other Universities. In 1928 he was General President of the Indian Science Congress, and in 1929 he received a British Knighthood. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1930 was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics. Scientific research has been his passion, and he has made important contributions to learned journals in India, England, and the United States. Scientific bodies all over the world have conferred their highest distinctions upon him. He left Calcutta in 1934, and is now Director of Raman Research Institute, Bangalore.

Professor Raman has often been to Europe and America in connection with his researches and has lectured to most of their principal scientific associations. Like Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, he has been an impressive example of the capacity of Indians for scientific speculation and investigation.

p. 166. **Robert Louis Stevenson** (1850-94): author of several well-known novels such as *Treasure Island* and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* as well as of many notable essays and poems.

p. 167. *Kidnapped*: one of Stevenson's stories of adventure, published in 1886.

Physiography : physical geography : an exposition of the principles underlying it.

p. 168. **Edwin Arnold's great book**: Arnold was for some time Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Poona, and was later connected with the *Daily Telegraph*. His poem *The Light of Asia* made the story and teachings of Buddha known to many readers in English-speaking countries.

Euclid: Greek mathematician (B.C. 323-283) who taught Geometry at Alexandria and whose *Elements* contained the first systematic treatment of that science.

- p. 169. **curves.....solids of all kinds:** parabola, ellipse, etc., are curves. Cubes and cones are some of the solids dealt with by Euclid. Figures include squares, rectangles, etc.
- p. 170. **Archimedes** (B.C. 287-212): Greek mathematician famous for his studies in mechanics and hydrostatics. He invented a machine called the Archimedean screw which was used to remove water from the ship's hold.
- Hermann von Helmholtz** (1821-94): German scientist. He covered almost the whole field of science from physiology to mechanics, and is particularly famous for his investigation of the nature of light.
- Isaac Newton** (1642-1727): Sir Isaac Newton, the great English mathematician who was the author of the *Principia*, which caused a revolution in scientific thought.
- Colossus:** gigantic figure ; from the huge statue of Apollo which once stood at the entrance to the harbour at Rhodes in the Mediterranean, with one leg on each side of the entrance.

THE SUCCESS OF NON-VIOLENCE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, was born in 1889, and is the only son of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, who was the leader of the Allahabad Bar and a prominent public man. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge, Jawaharlal was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1912, but politics had a greater attraction for him than law. He early became Secretary of the Home Rule League of Allahabad and a member of the All-India Congress Committee. Mahatma Gandhi's personality had as deep an influence on him as it had on his father, and Jawaharlal became one of his devoted followers and, later, his trusted lieutenant. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress more than once and was imprisoned several times for taking part in political movements. He bore hardships cheerfully for the sake of his country.

Panditji was appointed a member of the Government of India, when the Congress was invited to take part in administration along with the Muslim League before the partition in 1947. He became Prime Minister (of the Dominion of India) after the partition, and he continues to fill that exalted position in the Indian Republic. He visited the United States in 1949 and was honoured by many public bodies as a noble and far-sighted statesman and a truly worthy representative of his great country. The address he delivered at the Special Convocation of the Columbia University which conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon him, gives sufficient proof of his humanity and grasp of international problems. As Prime Minister of India, he has often visited England and France to discuss international questions.

Though he had English education, his admiration for India's past and indigenous culture is profound, and his aim is to revive his country's ancient fame and prosperity, by raising the masses to a higher plane of life and thought. He is a distinguished writer on social, political and cultural subjects, and his books are studied and admired in all parts of the world. Among his chief writings are *Autobiography*, *Glimpses of World History*, *Soviet Russia*, and *The Discovery of India*.

p. 171. **one.....peace:** General Eisenhower, who was Supreme Allied Commander-in-Chief in Europe during the Second Great War, and was President of Columbia University in 1949 when the Special Convocation was held.

Plato's philosopher-kings: in his *Republic* Plato taught that government could be satisfactory only when philosophers were kings or governors, or when kings or governors were philosophers.

p. 173. **incessant activity.....leisure:** he worked without rest to promote the Congress ideal and thus came into conflict with the Government. His only chance to rest came when he was imprisoned.

p. 174. **weapons.....contemplate:** the reference is to poison gas, atom bombs, etc.

- p. 175. **objectivity**: an attitude or outlook which is independent of the influence of personal opinions and feelings, and is concerned only with the actual facts.
- p. 177. **isolationism**: the policy of remaining aloof from the affairs of other nations. This was followed by the United States till recent times.
- neutrality**: impartiality; not taking either side in a war.
- Holland**: Holland's sovereignty in Indonesia has now come to an end. It became a sovereign republic in 1949.
- Portugal**: Goa, Diu and Daman are the main Portuguese possessions in India.
- p. 178. **attempt.....to exterminate the Jews**: reference may be made to Hitler's onslaught on the Jews in Germany, Austria and Poland, and the Arab States' war against the Jews in Palestine before the State of Israel was formed.
- p. 179. **wishful thinking**: thought or imagination influenced by over-optimistic desire; letting one's hopes master one's reason.

THE QUEST

- p. 181. **Mohenjo-daro**: a village in Sind in the Indus Valley. Excavations here have led to the discovery of the foundations of a buried city with traces of a remarkable pre-Aryan civilization estimated to be about 6000 years old. This is called the Indus Valley civilization.
- Professor Childe**: V. Gordon Childe, University Professor of Pre-historic European Archaeology and Director of the Institute of Archaeology, London, since 1946, was born in 1892.
- the peoples of the Mediterranean**: e.g., the Romans, the Spaniards, the Phoenicians, etc.

mighty travellers from China and Western and Central Asia : Hiuen-Tsang and Fa-Hian from China, and Ibn Batuta (born in Tangier) from Western Asia. Alberuni came from Central Asia, having been born at Khiva.

Angkor, Borobudur: Angkor, the old capital of Cambodia, contains the ruins of a vast temple called the Angkor Vat showing the influence of the Hindu style of architecture. Borobudur is a ruined Buddhist temple in Java with traces of Hindu art.

- p. 182. **my kinship with Kashmir:** the writer's ancestors migrated to India from Kashmir.

Ajanta, Ellora, the Elephanta caves : Ajanta is a village in the state of Hyderabad, where there are Buddhist cave temples with wonderful frescoes showing the greatness of ancient Indian art. Ellora is another village in Hyderabad famous for almost similar rock temples. Elephanta is a small island near Bombay with rock-cut caves containing images of Hindu deities.

- p. 183. *melas* : fairs where vast crowds came from different parts of the country.

Sarnath: see note on p. 229.

inscriptions: teachings of Buddha carved on stone pillars or slabs during the reign of the Maurya Emperor Asoka.

Fatehpur-Sikri : a town built by the Emperor Akbar in 1569 to commemorate the birth of his son Salim. It was his capital for a time, and contains the tomb of Salim Chisti, the saint who had foretold the birth of the Prince, who was named after him.

- p. 184. **proletarian movements:** movements inspired by the idea that government should be controlled by the lowest class of the people.

- p. 186. **the wordy commentator:** elaborate commentaries came to be written on almost all types of composition, when original work ceased to be produced.

- p. 191. **the seat.....cultures** : Muslim culture flourished in North India in medieval times in consequence of the Islamic conquests but did not spread to South India. It blended with the ancient Hindu culture most noticeably in the United Provinces.
- p. 193. **sphinx-like**: the sphinx was a monster in Greek mythology with a woman's head and the body of a winged lion. It was supposed to ask travellers riddles and to devour them when they could not answer. No such legend attaches to the Egyptian sphinx, which has a wingless lion's body and a man's or an animal's head.

mandarin: Chinese civil or military official.

